SOUTHERN LAU, FIJI: AN ETHNOGRAPHY

BY

LAURA THOMPSON

BERNICE P. BISHOP MUSEUM
BULLETIN 162

HONOLULU, HAWAII
PUBLISHED BY THE MUSEUM
1940

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

THE AUTHOR IS RESPONSIBLE FOR
ALL STATEMENTS IN THIS PAPER.

2: Thompson E 5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CONTENTS

PAGE
Introduction 3 000
Scope and method 3
Language 6
Acknowledgments 7
Physical types and dress 7
Geography 9
Kambara 12
Tokalau 13
Lomatchi 22
Nggalinggali 22
Undu 23
Wangava 24
Namuka 25
Mothe 25
Fulanga 26
Muanaithake 27
Muanaira 27
Naivindamu 27
Ongea 28
Western and Tongan influences 29
Social organization 31
Social groups 31
Kinship groups 32
The phratry 32
The clan 35
The family 37
Local groups 37
The chiefdom 37
The village 40
Tokalau 41
Lomatchi 42
Nggalinggali 43
Undu 44
Nawatchia 44
Nasau 45
Korotolu 46
Muanaithake 46
Muanaira 46
Naivindamu 47
Naithulaianga 47
Rank 47
Clan titles 48
High chief 48
The island chief 50
Assistants to the chief 50
Rank within the clan 53
Marriage and relationship 53
Marriage 53
Cross-cousin marriage 53
Descent and residence 54
Adoption 55
Illegitimate children 55
Relationship terms 56
Behavior between relatives 58
Cross cousins 58
Brothers, sisters, and parallel cousins 59
Parents and children 61

PAGE
    Grandparents and grandchildren 62
    Veivungoni and vasu 62
Social ceremonial 64
  Presentation of gifts 65
    First fruits 65
    Kava ceremony 68
    Feasts 72
  Ceremonial exchanges 73
  Meke 74
    War dances 76
    Sitting dance 77
    Fan dance 77
    Modern dances 78
  Games 78
    Dart throwing 78
    Vakatalolovo 80
    Vakandovu 80
    Jackstraws 80
    Contests 80
    Boxing 80
    String figures 81
    Other games 81
  Chief's installation 81
  Chief's reception 81
  Life crises ceremonies 83
    Pregnancy 83
    Childbirth 84
    Boys' puberty 86
    Girls' puberty 88
    Betrothal 90
    Marriage 91
    Death 95
Warfare 103
Religion 105
  Cult of the land people 105
  Ancestor worship 109
  The priesthood 111
  The god house 112
  Purification 113
  The double soul 114
  Abode of the dead 114
  Secret societies 116
    Nanga 116
    Luve ni Wai 117
Economic life 119
  Property 119
    Land scarcity 119
    Land ownership and inheritance 121
    Moveable property 124
    Incorporeal property 125
    Incarnations 126
  Organization of labor 126
  Calendar of the year 126
  Subsistence 127
    Food gathering 127
    Fishing 129
      Fishing with nets 129

PAGE
Fishing with spears 133 000-
Fishing with hook and line 134
Fish stupifying 134
Fish trapping 135
Fishponds 135
Shell fishing 136
Mbalolo 136
Lobsters 136
Squid luring 136
Turtle fishing 137
Poisonous fish 137
Hunting 138
Pigs 138
Goats 138
Wild fowl 138
Animal husbandry 138
Pigs 138
Domestic fowl 140
Dogs and cats 141
Turtles 141
Gardening 142
Garden produce 142
Fruit trees 146
Non-food plants 149
Preparation of food 151
Fire making 152
Steaming 153
Roasting 155
Boiling in pots 155
Stone boiling 156
Sweet puddings 156
Preserving 157
Preparation of bush food 158
Men's crafts 159
House building 159
Dwelling houses 159
Men's houses 172
Kitchen huts 172
Oven shelters 172
Garden houses 173
Temporary shelters 173
Canoe shelters 173
Chicken coops 173
Sennit 174
Canoes 175
Sailing canoe 176
Paddling canoes 184
Double canoes 185
Woodwork 187
Wooden bowls 187
Headrests 190
Musical instruments 191
Kava cup 192
Weapons 192
Baskets 193
Women's crafts 193
Barkcloth 193

600

PAGE
Distribution of the craft 193
Organization of the work 194
The Fijian method 194
The Tongan method 198
Mats 200
Pandanus-leaf mats 200
Coconut-leaf mats 203
Baskets 203
Coconut oil 203
Nettings and rope 205
Fishlines 205
Fishnets 206
Turtle nets 206
Rope 206
Liquid containers 207
Economic exchange 207
Types of exchange 207
Kerekere 207
Solevu 208
Tribute 208
Payment for services 209
Vasu and tauvu 209
Barter 209
Interisland trade 210
Native trade goods 210
Imported trade goods 211
Traders 211
Conclusion 212
Archaeological sites 216
Fortresses 216
Naisevou 216
Nakorovusa 217
Ndelaioloi 218
Nakaka 218
Nakoro 218
Thaukenaloa 219
Ndengei 219
Korombalavu 220
Hamlets 220
Nawarowaro 220
Vakawangga 220
Nambakua 221
Burials 221
Burial caves 221
Isolated burials 222
Cemeteries 222
Isolated house mounds 222
Other sites 222
Sacred places 222
Gaming grounds 223
Canoe builders' pit 223
Fishponds 223
Cannibal earth oven 223
Shell mounds 223
Potters' clay site 223
Stone quarries 223
Literature cited 224
Index 225
Figures 1-21 in text.
Plates 1-5.

Southern Lau, Fiji : an Ethnography

By **LAURA THOMPSON**
Bishop Museum Fellow; 1933-34.

INTRODUCTION

SCOPE AND METHOD

This monograph is based on field work in ethnography in the Fiji islands, 122 from August 1933 to April 1934, made possible by a Bishop Museum fellowship. 121 The main problem has been to understand and describe the native culture of the southern islands of the Lau or Eastern Archipelago of Fiji not only as it is functioning today but also in its historical setting.

The Lau islands, located on the border of Melanesia and Polynesia (fig. 1, 177 insert), have long been subjected to a diversity of cultural influences from adjacent culture areas. Even within the last century, exotic traits from neighboring islands, especially Tonga, have altered the native pattern (pp. 29, 215). Before the advent of western civilization Lau presented the complicated picture of a changing marginal culture which lacked integration. Moreover much of the apparent unity in the configuration in native culture was due to geographic proximity rather than to the inner necessity and slow growth which characterizes true integration. In the last hundred years the interplay of European and Tongan influences has further disintegrated the old native culture. These have affected not only the superficial aspects of life, such as technology, but its deeper phases, such as the social organization and religion.

The complicated history and lack of integration of the Lauan culture 114 presented problems to the ethnologist attempting to study the old life. In order to recover as much of the native culture as possible, I limited the investigation to a group of six islands in southern Lau where western influence had been relatively weak because of their isolation in the Fiji group and lack of commercially valuable natural resources. No Europeans live or own land on these islands which have no communication with the outside world except an occasional government or trade cutter. First, seeking to gain an intimate knowledge of the daily life of a specific group, I spent five months making an intensive investigation of the village of Tokalau on Kambara. Tokalau with 125 inhabitants is the highest ranking village on Kambara, the largest [161] island in southern Lau. Kambara had a population of 446 natives living in four villages. The island was small enough to allow personal contact with each individual and large enough to provide a choice of good informants. After I had gained an understanding of the culture on Kambara I spent the

[Text continues on p. 5,-
Analyst]

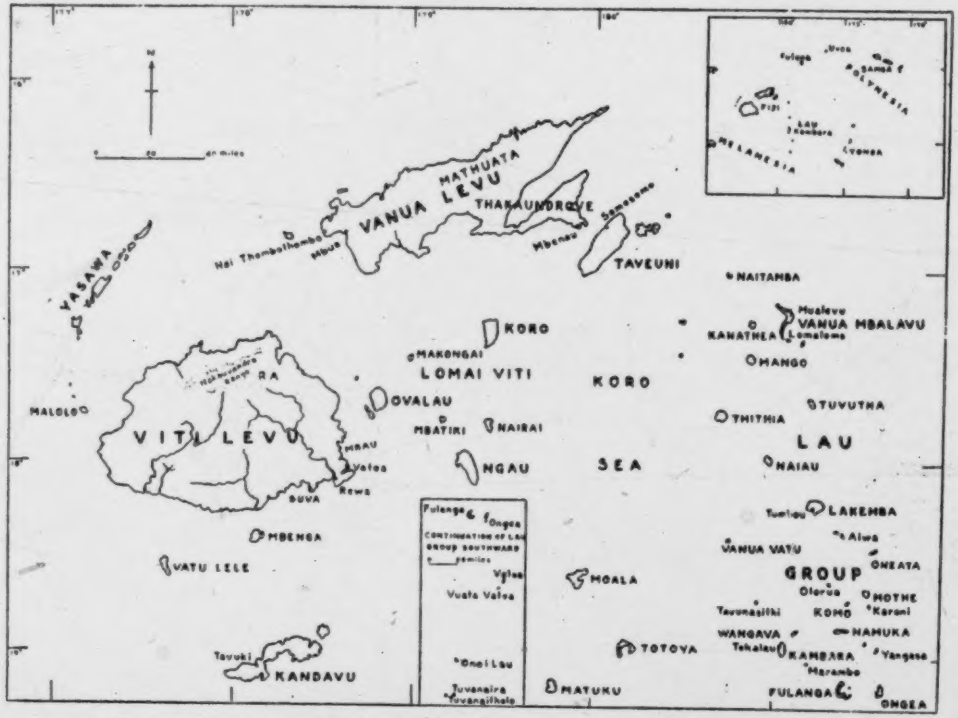

177°
178°
179°
180°
16°
17°
18°
19°
N
0
20
40 miles
YASAWA
Nai Thombothombo
Mbua
VANUA LEVU
MATHUATA
THAKAUNDROVE
Somosomo
Mbenau
TAVEUNI
NAITAMBA
Mualevu
VANUA MBALAVU
KANATHEA
Lomaloma
MANGO
KORO
MAKONGAI
LOMAI VITI
KORO
OVALAU
MBATIKI
NAIRAI
MALOLO
Nakauvandra Range
RA
VITI LEVU
MBAU
Vatoa
Rewa
SUVA
NGAU
SEA
THITHIA
TUVUTHA
LAU
NAIAU
Tumbou
LAKEMBA
Aiwa
VANUA VATU
ONEATA
GROUP
Olorua
MOTHE
Tavunasithi
KOMO
Karoni
WANGAVA
NAMUKA
Tabalau
KAMBARA
Yangasa
Marambo
FULANGA
ONGEA
MBENGA
VATU LELE
Tavuki
KANDAVU
MOALA
TOTOVA
MATUKU
Fulanga
Ongea
CONTINUATION OF LAU GROUP SOUTHWARD
0 20 miles
Vatoa
Vuata Vatoa
Ono i Lau
Tuvanaira
Tuvanaitholo
Fulaga
Uvea
Samoa
POLYNESIA
Fiji
LAU
Kambara
TONGA
MELANESIA

FIGURE 1.—Map of the Fiji Islands, with insert at upper right showing the location of the Lau islands in the south Pacific, on the border between Polynesia and Melanesia.

114 remainder of the time surveying the culture on the islands of Fulanga, Ongea,
Mothe, Namuka, and Wangava in order to check and gain prospective on the
[161] detailed picture and to secure a larger choice of informants. Altogether I
studied 11 villages with a total population of over 1,500 natives.

The greatest difficulties in the work were encountered in attempting to
177 recover the old religion after almost a century of mission influence and to
analyze the intricacies of the social system after sixty years of British rule.
[115] Most of the old religion has been lost. The fragmentary account here presented (pp. 105-119) has been recorded as it was obtained from aged informants, especially Moto and Tchosaia of Kambara, Kalo of Fulanga, and Mosesi of Namuka. Much of it has been taken from the notes of Bernhard Tueting. It may be colored by the teachings of the missionaries.

Changes due to interisland warfare, to Tongan contacts, and to European influence have obscured or changed important aspects of the social organization, especially the phratry division, the local unity of clans, the ranks and functions of clan titles, and native social values in general. To gain a picture of the system as a whole it was necessary to make a detailed analysis of the social organization of the 11 villages studied. The analysis as here presented (pp. 31-103) is based on the genealogies of 37 clans recorded in the field, sketch maps of each village, property rights, clan gods and their incarnations, legends, ceremonies and the statements of reliable native informants. The data have been checked by an examination of archaeological sites such as hamlets, fortresses, and sacred places (pp. 216-223).

121 As will be seen in the following pages, a knowledge of the Lauan social system, based as it is on the native concept of mana expressed in social prestige, is vital to an understanding of the culture as a whole. Moreover, the evidence from which the system has been reconstructed is rapidly disappearing. Hence time was devoted to its study at the expense of the study of other phases of life—such as technology, social ceremonial, and games—which it is hoped may still be studied in the future. In such studies of material culture as were recorded an attempt was made to emphasize functional rather than technological aspects. The development of the individual, social sanctions and law, native medicine and changes due to the introduction of western civilization have been described in a special study of culture change and colonial administration in Lau (23)[1] and hence have not been included in this monograph.

This study is an attempt to record the most important aspects of the native culture of Lau as a whole before they disappear. It is necessarily incomplete. The aim has been to describe the culture of southern Lau as revealed by field research on the six islands visited in its geographic setting and, as far

---

[1] Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 224.

121 as possible, in its historic frame. I have attempted to record the facts and to document them so that the reader may judge and interpret them on their own merits and to avoid interpretations, except in the conclusion. Most of my interpretations have been treated elsewhere (*21, 22, 23, 24*).

In this monograph statistics refer to the years 1933-34. For obvious reasons fictitious names for native informants occasionally have been used.

LANGUAGE

197 The Fijian language belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic stock. It consists of a number of dialects with a simple Melanesian grammar and mixed Melanesian-Polynesian vocabulary. The dialect of Mbau, formerly the principal chiefdom of Fiji, has become the official language, used by British [198] colonial officials and missionaries and taught in the native schools. No pidgin is spoken.

124 I acquired some knowledge of the Mbauan dialect during six weeks on Viti Levu while awaiting transportation to Lau. I employed two Lauan boys, aged 28 and 19, who had learned some English in school on Viti Levu and Lakemba, to help me with the modern Lauan dialect, which is a mixture of the old Lauan dialect known by a few aged natives, the Mbauan dialect, and the Tongan language. I acquired a conversational knowledge of modern Lauan, but throughout the field work interpreters aided me in understanding informants and checked my study of the meanings of words. They helped me especially in dealing with abstract phases of the culture.

104 In this monograph the spelling of native words follows Hazelwood's Fijian dictionary (*10*), except where the simplified system of spelling he employed to facilitate teaching the written language to natives misrepresents the sound of the language. *Th* has been substituted for Hazelwood's *c*; *mb* for *b*; *ng* for *g*; *nğg* for *q*; *nd* for *d*; *tch* for *j* (Lauan dialect). These sounds may be expressed phonetically as follows:

th = ð
ngg = ^{ŋ}g
mb = ^{m}b
ng = ŋ
nd = ^{n}d
tch = tʃ

Place names follow British Admiralty charts except those of villages and other small specific localities in southern Lau, most of which have never been mapped. These have been recorded as pronounced in the Lauan dialect by the natives.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my appreciation to the officials of Bernice P. Bishop 000 Museum and Yale University for cooperation in making possible this study. I thank the officials of the Colony of Fiji who aided the work in the field, especially his Excellency, Sir A. G. Murchison Fletcher, former Governor of Fiji; Mr. A. A. Wright, former Secretary for Native Affairs; Dr. Victor W. T. McGusty, Chief Medical Officer; Mr. A. J. Armstrong, Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs; and also Mr. George T. Barker, Director of the Fiji Museum. I am very much indebted to Ratu J. L. V. Sukuna, District Commissioner of Lau and Chief Assistant of the Native Lands Commission, whose hospitality and whose knowledge of his people proved of great assistance. I thank Dr. A. C. Smith, Assistant Curator of the New York Botanical Garden for identification of native plant names; Dr. Harry S. Ladd, Regional Geologist, National Park Service, and Dr. J. E. Hoffmeister, Professor of Geology at the University of Rochester, for information concerning the geology of the islands; and Dr. Peter H. Buck, Miss Elizabeth Harrington, and Mr. Edward Y. Hosaka for help with the illustrations. I am grateful to my Lauan friends, especially Ratu Tchosaia, chief of Kambara, Iferemi Mbaraki of Undu, and Mathiu of Muanaithake for their assistance. I am most indebted, however, to Bernhard Tueting for assistance in the field, and for the use of field notes which I gratefully acknowledge.

PHYSICAL TYPES AND DRESS

The Lauans are a mixture of Melanesian and Polynesian physical types. 42 As a group they are easily distinguished from the natives of Fiji proper and from the Tongans, but some individuals closely resemble the mountain people of Viti Levu while others look pure Tongan. They are a stalwart, well-proportioned and heavy-boned stock, slightly taller than the natives of Fiji proper. The men are muscular with particularly well-developed legs. The very young women have beautiful, slender bodies with upstanding breasts ranging from the Melanesian pointed type to the Polynesian rounded type. Lauans do not [145] grow fat as they age, but develop a Negroid angularity.

There is great variation in skin color among Lauans, but in general they are lighter than Fijians and darker than Tongans. Skin color is usually correlated with type of facial features—light skin with fine features and dark skin with coarse ones. On Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau, where Tongan influence is strong, and on Mothe, formerly the point of departure of sailing canoes for Tonga, one notices a strong Polynesian strain —lighter skins, finer features, and wavy hair. But on islands like Fulanga, inhabited mainly by the descendants of the early inhabitants of Lau, dark skins, coarse features, and frizzly hair predominate.

142 Apparently a partial albino strain runs through the people of the southern islands, especially on Fulanga and Ongea. In some families the hair, and often also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored.

The coarse, black hair of the Lauans ranges from the frizzly Negroid type to the wavy Polynesian type. Hair is considered important and is groomed
302 by both sexes. Many individuals, especially young people, dye their hair
386 with red bark to give it a coppery cast. The dye is prepared from the bark
[824] of the *vetau* tree (*Ochrocarpus excelsus*) as follows:

> Strips of bark about 2 cm. thick are cut into pieces about 6 cm. square which are beaten with a stone hammer on a stone slab, and then soaked in water in a wooden bowl. Next they are rubbed over a grater (made of a piece of tin punctured with holes) into a wooden bowl. The red pulp is squeezed out by hand, leaving clear, brick-colored liquid dye, which is left on the hair for several hours. After the dye has been washed off, lime is applied.

Lime is prepared and used to cleanse the hair as follows:

> After women dive for coral on the reef, either men or women bake it in a wood fire for about a day. It is removed from the fire by means of prongs made of a coconut midrib; covered with *evuevu (Hernandia ovigera)*, banana, or breadfruit leaves, and placed in a coconut-leaf basket. The opening of the basket is lashed up and the basket buried in the ground for three or four nights. Then the lime is mixed with water, applied to the hair and left for a day, after which it is washed out in the lagoon. The treatment destroys lice, bleaches the hair slightly, and causes it to stand out from the head. Women who are careful about their appearance apply lime to the hair about every three weeks, men usually apply it less frequently.

In order to blacken the hair, according to informants, women cut the flower of the banana into slices about 3 cm. thick and rub it over hair which has been reddened by dye. *Wangiri* and *oki* are used for the same purpose.

[145] Gray hair is common among old people but few bald-headed (*ndriki*) persons are seen.

302 "Strong" hair that stands out from the scalp is admired, and to produce this effect a wooden comb (*seru*) is used. Informants say that this comb is modern and that they formerly used a comb (called *serusasa*) composed of the midribs of coconut leaflets (*sasa*) tied to a wooden handle with sennit. After the hair has been combed to stand out, it is shortened and shaped to the desired length by means of a burning brand, frequently of *thimbithimbi* (*Cynometra grandiflora*) bark. Most adults wear their hair from 6-10 cm. long. Formerly men wore their hair a few centimeters longer. Since the wearing of most head ornaments is a chiefly prerogative, hair ornaments are rare except in the dance or when sprigs of flowers are worn casually about the village.

515 The cleaning of one another's heads is a friendly pastime among the women. One woman sits in front of and facing another, who hunts through her lowered head, eating or killing the prey. Formerly a head scratcher (*i*

milamila), consisting of a pointed stick about 35 cm. long made of *mbau* 515
(*Pittosporum brackenridgei*), was used.

Some old men wear beards, but most men shave their faces at least once a [302]
week, usually with a piece of glass.

Nails are bitten off or cut with a knife.

Most Lauans bathe daily in the sea about sundown. There are no specific bathing places for men and women, but the sexes do not bathe together. Frequently perfumed coconut oil is rubbed on the legs, arms, and hair after the bath.

Men and boys over the age of six wear a kilt (*sulu*) wound round the 291
waist and knotted. It extends to the knees and is made of a piece of trade
cloth, gunny sack, tapa, or leaves. The upper part of the body is bare except 301
on festive occasions, when an imported cotton undershirt or shirt is worn. The men wear ornaments only in the dance. Formerly they wore boars' tusks (*mbatchi ni puaka*), perforated at one end and hung on hibiscus bark, or an orange-colored bivalve (*sopui*) neck ornament. Aged informants say that the outer surface of the shell was polished with a stone and sand. The perforation appears to have been made with a sharp, pointed drill. Armbands (*nggato*), made of a shell called *leru*, were worn just below the elbow by both men and women.

Formerly the ears of men and women were pierced with a bamboo knife [304]
and were weighted until they hung to the shoulder.

Sandals (*i vava vulu*), made of coconut husk and bound to the feet by means of tapa, are worn to cover a foot wound. An eyeshade (*matai iri*) made of a plaited coconut leaf is worn occasionally as a protection against the sun.

Young girls and women wear skirts of trade cloth which reach from the waist to the ankles. The skirts of little girls from six to fourteen and of women working in the bush or on the beach hang just below the knee. The [554]
upper part of the body is either bare or covered with a sleeveless cloth blouse, which adds to the social prestige of the wearer. Young women formerly wore a short fringe (*liku*) made of hibiscus bark, or the leaves of ti, *nunu* (*Ficus*),
sitchi, or *vono* (probably *Alyxia bracteolosa*). The women wear practically no [824]
ornaments except when dressed for the dance or for ceremonial occasions, when they hang a wreath (*salusalu*) of the dyed inner bark of the hibiscus, fragrant leaves, and flowers around the neck.

GEOGRAPHY

The Lau or Eastern Archipelago of the Fiji Islands is situated between 131
16° 43′ and 21° 2″ south latitude and between 178° 15′ and 180° 17′ west longitude (fig. 1). It is a chain of about 100 small islands and reefs extending

131 north and south along the eastern margin of the Fiji group. The Lau Islands lie at the meeting point of two culture areas, Melanesia on the west and Polynesia on the east (fig. 1, insert). Moreover these small islands in the central Pacific define the eastern border of the submarine shelf, which extends from Asia eastward into Oceania, and mark a change from continental to insular geological formation and a corresponding transition in flora and fauna. The island world west of Lau is more compact than that east of the archipelago and the flora and fauna are richer.

131 631 The southern Lau Islands (fig. 2) are: Oneata; Mothe; the Kambara group composed of Kambara, Namuka-i-Lau (Namuka), and Komo; the Fulanga group composed of Fulanga and Ongea; and the Ono group composed of Ono-i-Lau (Ono) and Vatoa. They are part of the chiefdom of Lakemba, which also includes the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Thithia in central Lau. The islands of both central and southern Lau are subject to the high chief at Lakemba.

North of the chiefdom of Lakemba lie the Exploring Isles, formerly subject to Thakaundrove on Vanua Levu; and on the west lies the independent Moala group consisting of Totoya, Moala, Matuku, and Vanua Vatu. The chiefdom of Lakemba, the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group comprise the colonial political province of Lau. To the natives, however, only the islands south of Lakemba, excluding the Moala group, are known as Lau.

133 Based on differences in geological formation, the Lau Islands may be divided into three groups: volcanic islands, limestone islands, and islands composed of both limestone and volcanic rocks. Of the important islands in the chiefdom of Lakemba, Mothe, Komo, and Thithia are volcanic; Lakemba, Kambara, Oneata and Ono are composed of limestone and volcanic rocks; and Wangava, Fulanga, Ongea, and Vatoa are composed wholly of limestone. These geological differences form the basis of economic life in southern Lau. The natural resources of the three rock types are supplementary and the group is economically interdependent.

The volcanic islands rise from sandy beaches toward a central ridge or hill. Their grassy slopes are forest free, and streams flow through their fertile valleys. They are rich in garden lands which grow yams, taro, manioc, breadfruit, bananas, papaya, and other tropical fruits in abundance, but they lack the forest resources of the limestone islands.

133 262 [134] The limestone islands are characterized by a heavily forested limestone basin. Small pockets of poor soil, on which yams and taro do not grow well, serve as garden lands. The staple food is manioc, supplemented on some islands by sweet potato, on others by breadfruit, and by roots, nuts, leaves, and fruit from the jungle. With the introduction of manioc and sweet potatoes in recent times, the inhabitants have become gardeners. The limestone islands

[Text continues on p. 12. - Analyst]

101
131
172

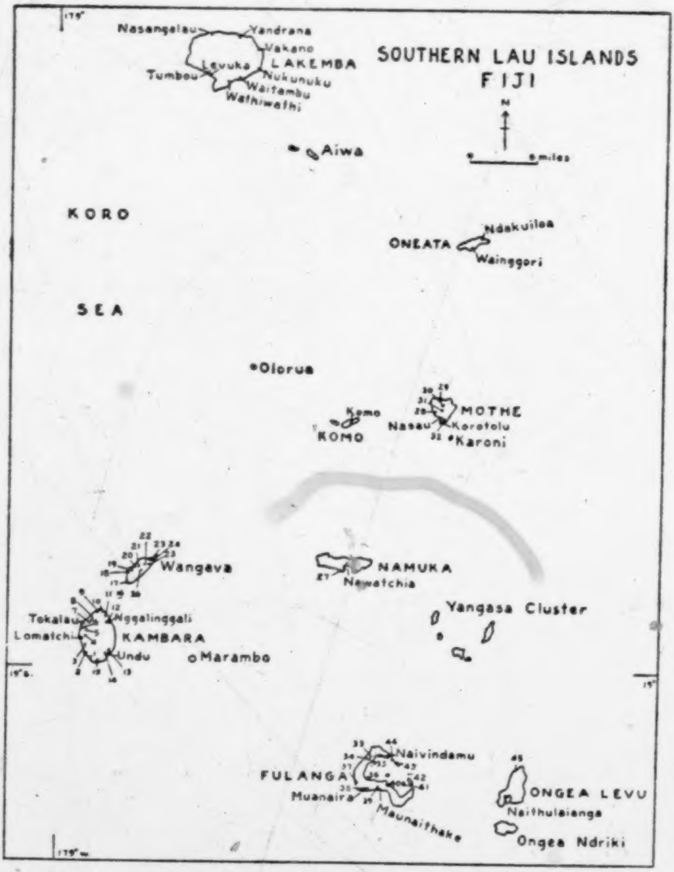

SOUTHERN LAU ISLANDS
FIJI
N
0
6 miles
179°
Nasangelau
Yandrana
Vakano
LAKEMBA
Levuka
Tumbou
Nukunuku
Waitambu
Wathiwathi
Aiwa
KORO
SEA
ONEATA
Ndakuiloa
Wainggori
Olorua
Komo
KOMO
MOTHE
Nasau
Korotolu
Karoni
Wangava
NAMUKA
Nawatchia
Yangasa Cluster
Tokalau
Nggalinggali
Lomatchi
KAMBARA
Undu
Marambo
19° S.
19°
FULANGA
Naivindamu
Muanaira
Maunaithake
ONGEA LEVU
Naithulaianga
Ongea Ndriki
179° W.

Figure 2.—Map of the southern Lau islands, Fiji (omitting Ono and Vatoa to the south). Names of inhabited islands are in capitals; of uninhabited islands and villages in capitals and lower case; the approximate location of archaeological sites and other named places, numbered as follows:

1. Votua
2. Salia
3. Nakoroyangai
4. Nakaka
5. Ndelaioloi
6. Vatuloaloa
7. Korokoroilulu
8. Naisevou and Nokorovusa
9. Naikeleangga
10. Ndaku
11. Naimarai
12. Nakoro and Mataiundu
13. Nambewa
14. Thaukenaloa and Vakawangga
15. Nggaralevu
16. Vuthuninggase
17. Thimbathimba (Kambara and Wangava)
18. Saurai
19. Ndengei
20. Naivakevu
21. Korombalavu
22. Nambukua
23. Ndaitukavondo
24. Savena
25. Toyovu and Nawarowaro
26. Sauvanaroa Lake
27. Thimbathimba (Namuka)
28. Kamali
29. Nggali
30. Ndelaimakotu
31. Ndelaimothe
32. Leva
33. Tchinambua
34. Toka
35. Matafete
36. Vatuolo
37. Ndolealewanilomatchi
38. Narara, Nggilo, and Tawali
39. Nauluvatu
40. Yawalevu
41. Taluma
42. Salia
43. Nggilanggilalevu
44. Nggilanggilalailai
45. Thimbathimba (Ongea)

133 have calm, shallow lagoons, abounding in fish and shellfish which are an impor- 262 tant part of the diet. Most of these islands are deficient in food but rich in timber and jungle produce which provide the raw materials for their industries.

132 Lau has a tropical climate. During the dry season, which lasts from April to October, the cooling southeast trades blow regularly and the seas are calm. An extensive interisland canoe traffic is carried on during these months. The remainder of the year is rainy and warm with irregular winds, especially during the "hurricane" months of January, February, and March. Fortunately hurricanes are infrequent. Drought is a constant menace on the limestone islands, for rain is quickly absorbed by the sharp, porous limestone. There are no streams and practically all the fresh water used by the natives must be col- [312] lected in tanks and utensils. On each island there are a few water holes which are usually brackish, but the native technique of living requires little fresh water.

361 The population of the islands is concentrated in coast villages. Each village is located on a sandy flat along the beach and is usually surrounded by a coconut grove. Frequently the site is planted with breadfruit trees. Usually the village land is divided into strips, which run from the beach to the cliffs; and each strip is owned and occupied by a clan (*matanggali*, formerly a hamlet in garden land or bush clearing, see p. 35). The clans of highest rank occupy the center of the village. Their houses dominate the ceremonial ground (*rara*), where village feasts are distributed and ceremonies, dances, and games are held.

A description of the islands and villages which were studied follows.

KAMBARA

621 Kambara is a basin-shaped mass of limestone, about 4.5 miles long and 3 133 miles wide. The rim of the basin is an irregular ridge about 60 meters high. Here and there the precipitous, seaward cliff falls away, giving space to a sand flat grown with coconut palms. On such flats are situated the four villages of the island: Tokalau, Lomatchi, Nggalinggali, and Undu. Kambara is nearly surrounded by a coral reef which breaks on the northwest coast, providing the only anchorage. The village of Tokalau is located opposite the anchorage.

Kambara combines the natural resources of both volcanic and limestone islands. The heavily forested interior of the island is honeycombed with pits and caverns. Pockets of red, residual soil of an acre or so are cultivated on the eastern edge of the basin and in the center where the elevation is only about 24.4 meters. A volcanic outcrop, Ndelaioloi, rising in the northwest part of the island to a height of 143.3 meters, provides the island's best soil, and here [131] most of the gardens are located. The main garden products are manioc and sweet potato. A coarse quality of pandanus grows on Kambara. The principal

resources of the island are hardwoods, especially greenheart of India (called 621
vesi, Intsia bijuga) and *mbau* (probably *Pittosporum brackenridgei*) which 133
grow in the heavily forested interior. In Fiji the greenheart grows abundantly only on Kambara, the historic center of canoe building for the whole 137
group and for Tonga as well.

TOKALAU

Tokalau village (fig. 3; table 1) is on the northwest shore of Kambara, at 621
the foot of Ndelaioloi. It is the highest ranking village on the west side of 133
Kambara and the home of the titular chief of Kambara, Tui Kambara. The
village title, used on ceremonial occasions, is Nukuleka. The 125 inhabitants 592

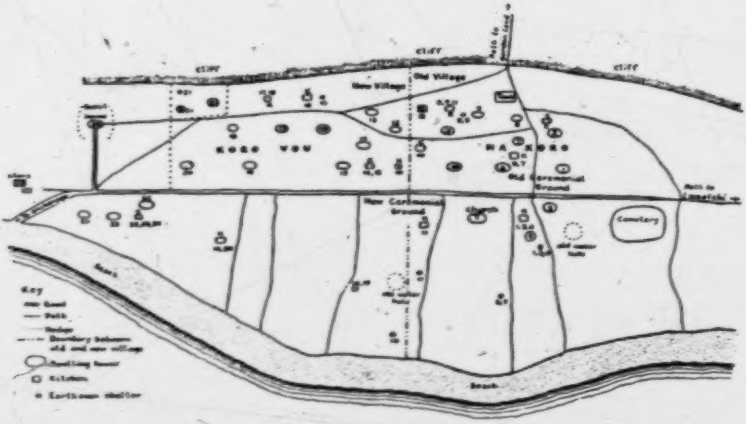

cliff
cliff
cliff
Path to garden land
Old Village
New Village
KORO VOU
NA KORO
Old Ceremonial Ground
New Ceremonial Ground
Church
Cemetery
Path to Lomatchi
Beach
Key
Road
Path
Hedge
Boundary between old and new village
Dwelling house
Kitchen
Earthoven shelter

FIGURE 3.—Sketch map of Tokalau village, Kambara. (For household census see table 1, pages 14-21.)

occupy 26 sleeping houses. Tokalau is one of the few villages in southern Lau [439]
which has a Chinese store. Imported trade articles are exchanged for copra or cash. A roadway runs from the landing opposite the anchorage through Tokalau southward toward the village of Lomatchi. Most of the sleeping houses are located in a clearing on the cliff side of the road. A few, together with earth oven shelters and kitchen huts, are situated in the coconut grove on the shore side. The old section of the village is located just below a break in the limestone cliff on the most direct path from the beach to the garden land and the old fortress sites. The path also leads through the jungle across the island to the villages of Nggalinggali and Undu. The village fishing grounds extend along the adjacent shore from Vatu Loaloa to Ndaku.

TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
1	Vale Levu, men's house	59	Vuanikathu	(1) male, age 77, chief of Kambara and headman of Vuanikathu clan; his Tongan wife is dead
2	Tchiana	8	Vuanikathu	I occupied this house
3	Mburotu	6	Vuanikathu	(2) female, age 26, child of 1
				(3) female, age 3, illegitimate child of 2; child's father is dead
				(4) female, age 40, Vuanikathu clan (sister of 9); she is staying in Tokalau while her husband, a man of Saumua clan, Undu village, is working on Taveuni Island
				(5) female, age 19, child of 4
				(6) female, age 8, child of 4
				(7) female, age 40, born in Levuka, mother of 20, returned to Kambara after her husband from Matuku Island died
4	Wai Levu	2	Mbete subclan of Vuanikathu clan	(8) male, age 45, born on Komo Island, moved to Tokalau at time of his marriage to 9
				(9) female, age 40, Vuanikathu clan, parallel cousin of 1, wife of 8
				(10) male, age 22, child of 8 and 9, husband of 20
				(11) female, age 20, child of 8 and 9
				(12) female, age 19, child of 8 and 9
				(13) female, age 16, child of 8 and 9
				(14) female, age 14, child of 8 and 9
				(15) male, age 12, child of 8 and 9
				(16) female, age 10, child of 8 and 9
				(17) male, age 8, child of 8 and 9
				(18) female, age 5, child of 8 and 9
				(19) male, age 3, child of 8 and 9

TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

621
592

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(20) female, age 19, born on Matuku, child of 7, wife of 10
				(21) male, age 5 months, child of 10 and 20
				(22) female, age 14, born on Matuku, child of 7, sister of 20
				(23) female, age 7 months, illegitimate child of 11; the child's father, who is working on Taveuni Island, is the son of 1, the parents are parallel cousins
				(24) male, age 5 months, illegitimate child of 12; the child's father, who is working on Taveuni, is the son of 119
5	Sayama	2	house of the schoolmaster, owned by the village	unoccupied
6	Moitokavonu	3	Vuanitavola	(25) male, age 60, village headman, master fisherman, and headman of Vuanitavola clan
				(26) female, age 54, born in Undu, Matasoata clan, wife of 25
				(27) female, age 19, child of 25 and 26
				(28) female, age 17, child of 25 and 26
				(29) female, age 14, child of 25 and 26
				(30) male, age 1, grandchild of 25 and 26, child of 32
				(31) female, age 8, orphan, illegitimate child of first wife of 34; child's father belonged to Levuka clan, Lomatchi
7	Vale Kapa	30	Vuanitavola	(32) female, age 28, born in Lomatchi, wife of the son of 25 and 26 who is working on Taveuni, mother of 30

TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(33) female, age 60, born in Tokalau, Vuanikathu clan, mother of 32; her husband, a man of Levuka clan, Lomatchi, is dead
8	Moanikau, men's house	20	Vuanitavola	(34) male, age 40, separated from his wife 36 during the tabu period after childbirth
9	Ndokanitambua	2	Vuanitavola	(35) female, age 50, sister of 34; she has returned to Vuanitavola clan after the death of her husband who belonged to Vuanikathu clan, Naitathini subclan
				(36) female, age 25, born in Lomatchi, Nawi clan, second wife of 34
				(37) female, age about 50, born in Nggalinggali, Nanggara clan, mother of 36
				(38) male, age 10, child of 34 and his first wife, now dead
				(39) male, age 6, child of 34 and his first wife
				(40) female, age 7 months, child of 34 and 36
10	Lotoa	house beams are 70 years old	house of the mission church	(41) male, age 69, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, native missionary for Kambara; his wife, from Totoya Island, is dead
				(42) male, age 17, born on Totoya, child of 41
				(43) male, age 15, born on Totoya, child of 41
				(44) female, age 12, born on Matuku, child of 41
				(45) male, age 8, born on Vanua Mbalavu, child of 41
				(46) female, age 21, child of 67 and 68

TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

621
592

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
K10			kitchen for (10)	temporarily occupied by a group from Nggalinggali because 47 is ill after a stillbirth and is being treated by a Tokalau doctor (47) female, age 24, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, married to a man of Tanggu clan, Nggalinggali, who is working on Taveuni (48) female, age 52, born in Nggalinggali, Lemaki clan, widow of a man of Naivotavota clan, Nggalinggali; mother of 47 (49) female, age 70, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, a widow, grandmother of 47 (50) female, age 20, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, sister of 47 (51) female, age 19, born in Nggalinggali, Tanggu clan
11	Vakandewavosa		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	(52) male, age 46, born on Komo, came to Tokalau when he married Vuanikathu woman, now dead; envoy to Lakemba and headman of Mbete subclan (53) female, age 22, child of 52 (54) female, age 10, child of 52 (55) male, age 7, child of 52 (56) female, age 16, child of 35 (57) male, age 7, child of 35 (58) female, age 13, child of 34 and his first wife
12	Nambukelevu		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	unoccupied because out of repair, but formerly occupied by 59 and her husband, now working on Taveuni, and by their child 60

TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
K12	Kitchen house for 11		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	temporarily occupied, out of repair
				(59) female, age 22, Vuanitavola clan
				(60) female, age 1, child of 59
13	Vunivou		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	unoccupied since the death of former occupant, mother of 8, one month ago
14	Mbusa	4	Katoka clan, Saumua subclan	(61) male, age 36, child of 67 and 68
				(62) female, age 30, born in Lomatchi, Nawi clan, wife of 61
				(63) female, age 7, child of 61 and 62
				(64) male, age 5, child of 61 and 62
				(65) female, age 2, child of 61 and 62
				(66) female, age 70, born in Lomatchi, Levuka clan, grandmother of 62, a widow
15	Naloto	50	Katoka clan, Saumua subclan	(67) male, age 70, headman of Saumua subclan
				(68) female, age 70, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, wife of 67
				(69) female, age 21, child of 67 and 68, widow of a man of Vuanitavola clan
				(70) female, age 3, child of 69
				(71) female, age 5, illegitimate child of 46; child's father, working on Taveuni, is the son of 41
				(72) male, age 3, illegitimate child of 46; child's father is dead
16	Lamitchi	24	Vuanitavola	(73) male, age 46, Vuanitavola clan, carpenter
				(74) female, age 43, wife of 73

TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(75) male, age 16, child of 73 and 74 (76) male, age 11, child of 73 and 74 (77) female, age 27, born on Komo, Tuvana clan
17	Nukumboromboro, men's house	6	Katoka	(78) male, age 60, headman of Katoka clan, chief of crops and herald (79) male, age 18, son of 78 and 82 (80) male, age 12, Vuanikathu clan, an orphan
18	Naisevou	4	Katoka	(81) female, age 50, Vuanikathu clan, wife of 78, sister of 1 (82) female, age 19, child of 78 and 81 (83) female, age 15, child of 78 and 81 (84) female, age 24, born on Totoya, child of 41, wife of son of 78 and 81; her husband is working in Suva (85) male, age 1, son of 84 (86) female, age 20, Vuanikathu clan, daughter of 90 and 91 (87) female, age 6, illegitimate child of 36; child's father, Nakaka clan, Lomatchi, is dead (88) female, age 24, Vuanitavola clan, wife of the son of the brother of 82; her husband works on Taveuni (89) female, child of 88
19	Taitchi	28	Vuanikathu	(90) male, age 52, Vuanikathu clan (91) female, age 44, born in Lomatchi, Nawi clan, wife of 90 (92) male, age 16, child of 90 and 91 (93) female, age 7, child of 90 and 91

TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(94) female, age 5, child of 90 and 91
				(95) female, age 74, Vuanikathu clan, mother of 90 and 98
				(96) female, age 3, born in Lakemba
				(97) female, age 15, born in Lomatchi, Levuka clan; her mother 33 is the older sister of 89; the child is *vasu* to 89
20	Nukumbalavu	10	Vuanikathu	(98) female, age 46, Vuanikathu clan, widow of former Mbuli Kambara, Vuanikathu clan, sister of 90
				(99) female, age 25, child of 98; has returned to Tokalau after the death of her husband in Suva; she has one child in Suva
				(100) male, age 19, child of 98
				(101) male, age 16, child of 98
				(102) male, age 14, child of 98
				(103) female, age 12, child of 98
				(104) female, age 8, child of 98
				(105) male, age 3, child of 98
				(106) female, age 65, Katoka clan, widow of the former native missionary
				(107) female, age 16, born on Matuku; her father, now dead, was a brother of 67, Saumua clan
21	Naveiruarua		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	(108) male, age 70, Mbete subclan, Vuanikathu clan
				(109) female, age 60, born on Totoya, wife of 108
22	Kenitoni	3	Vuanitavola clan, Matandravu subclan	(110) male, age 36, born on Komo, former Mbuli Kambara, temporarily schoolmaster; illegitimate child of 118

TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(111) female, age 30, born on Komo, wife of 110; illegitimate child of 119 (112) female, age 10, child of 110 and 111 (113) male, age 7, child of 110 and 111 (114) female, age 6, child of 110 and 111 (115) female, age 4, child of 110 and 111 (116) female, age 2, child of 110 and 111 (117) male, age 3 months, child of 110 and 111 (118) female, age 58, born on Komo, Nukusea clan, a widow (119) female, age 45, born on Komo, Mbete clan (120) female, age 16, illegitimate child of 119 (121) male, age 45, half-caste born on Nggau (122) female, age 35, born on Kandavu; her father is from Komo, her mother from Vuanitavola clan, Kambara. She is cross cousin of 110 (123) male, age 10, illegitimate child of 121; child's mother, from Nakaka clan, Lomatchi, is now living on Matuku Island
23	Tuvana		Vuanitavola clan, Matandravu subclan	house is out of repair; it was formerly occupied by 119, 120, and 121
24	Mualevu	2 months	owned by Chinese storekeeper	(124) female, age 25, Vuanitavola clan, Matandravu subclan, child of 119
25	Sitoa store		owned by Chinese trading company	(125) male, age 32, Chinese storekeeper
26	Koro Vou guest house		owned by the Kambara district	used for visiting chiefs and officials

621 133 [312] Fresh water is scarce in Tokalau. The village reservoir is out of repair. Rain water is collected in small tanks or barrels from the tin roofs of several houses, and from a fresh water hole (named Nai Mariko), located in the nearby bush. Two concavities in the village mark the dry sites of brackish water holes.

621 133 712 Old informants say that at least some of the ancestors of Tokalau inhabitants lived in Nakorovusa (p. 217), a fortress on the cliffs above Tokalau, before moving in Christian times, when Manoa was chief of Kambara, to Nakoro, the old village of Tokalau. Tokalau people also occupied Ndelaioloi (p. 218), the fortress at the summit of the hill above the village. Naisevou (p. 216; fig. 21), a fortified village just below Nakorovusa, was built by the nobles of Tokalau; and Korokoroilulu, on the slopes of Ndelaioloi, was a hamlet of the Katoka clan of the land people, the aboriginal inhabitants of Kambara.

LOMATCHI

621 133 Lomatchi, the lowest ranking village on Kambara, lies half a mile south of Tokalau on the west coast of Kambara at the foot of Ndelaioloi. Its title is Numbaravi. Lomatchi, the smallest village on the island, has only 47 inhabitants, occupying nine sleeping houses. Most of the houses are built directly on the ground, since many houses built on stone-faced mounds were destroyed by a hurricane a few years ago. The houses form two rows, one on each side of the road, which runs parallel to the shore. A path to the gardens on Ndelaioloi, where Lomatchi owns a relatively large amount of good garden land, meets the road at the north end of the village. The village fishing grounds, which extend along the adjacent shore from Vatu Loaloa to Salia, are the best on Kambara.

[312] A concrete reservoir provides fresh water for the village, and brackish water is obtained from a hole 250 meters northward.

Informants say that formerly the natives of Lomatchi occupied Nawi and Old Lomatchi hamlets in the garden land above the present village site. They used two fortresses on the cliffs above the present village, Nakoroyangai to the south, and Nakaka (p. 218) to the north. In Christian times they moved to Vuniviavia (also called Vuninggalaka), a village site between Lomatchi and the cliffs. There is a dispute between the elders of west Kambara concerning the name of this site. [731 During the epidemic of measles in Lau (1875) they moved to Naisauvesi on the sandy flat north of the village where the house sites may be seen, and thence to the present village site.

NGGALINGGALI

[712 Nggalinggali (called Tanggu by the natives) is the ranking village on the east side of the island. Its title is Na Koro, the name of the fortress site on the cliff above the village.

the cliff above the village. Nggalinggali is situated toward the north end of 621
Kambara within easy sailing distance of the valuable, uninhabited island of 133
Wangava. With 154 inhabitants, it is the largest village on Kambara. Its 32
sleeping houses are near the beach in two rows, one on each side of the road,
which runs parallel to the shore. Most of Nggalinggali's garden lands are
on Wangava, but some are found on the slopes of Ndelaioloi, in the interior
Kambara basin, and on the ridge above the village. A path leads from the
northwest corner of the village, up the steep cliff into the interior basin, and
across the island. It connects Nggalinggali with Ndelaioloi, and the villages
of Tokalau and Lomatchi. These villages, as well as Undu, may also be
reached by skirting the island in a canoe or on foot at low tide.

The reservoir is out of repair, but brackish water is obtained from two [312]
water holes, one at the north end and one at the south end of the village.

On the sandy flat north of the village, are house sites of the old village [361
of Tanggu, occupied immediately before the present site. On the limestone 712]
cliffs above Nggalinggali are the ruins of Nakoro (p. 218), a walled fortress
which was used by the Nggalinggali group. Adjoining Nakoro on the southwest is Matanaiundu, a small fort which supplemented Nakoro.

At Naimarai near Naikeleangga on the north point of the island is a 172
cemetery and village site, which, according to the natives, was formerly
occupied by Tongan canoe builders. The ditch across which the hull of a
double canoe was laid while under construction may still be seen. The natives
say that near this spot was situated an assembly house (*vale ni mbose*), used
as a meeting place for representatives from the two hostile sides of the island.

UNDU

Undu is the most isolated village on Kambara. Located on the east shore 621
about two miles south of Nggalinggali, it is farthest from the island's anchorage at Tokalau and least touched by western influence. In Undu are con- 133
centrated the descendants of the land people (*kai vanua*) of Kambara, the
aboriginal inhabitants of the island. The village has 120 inhabitants occupying
24 sleeping houses. Its title is Raviravimbalavu.

Undu is connected with Ndelaioloi, Tokalau, and Lomatchi by a rough, 487
narrow path, which ascends the steep precipice above the village and leads 133
through the bush across the island. The village garden lands are located on 621
Ndelaioloi and on Marambo, a small uninhabited limestone island about seven
miles east of the village.

The reservoir is in repair. On the northern outskirts of the village, fresh 312
water drips from the cliff and is caught in wooden bowls. There is also a 621
fresh water hole about 250 meters south of the village in the cliff. On the 133
beach a mile south of Undu lies a salt water hole about 12 meters deep and 2
meters in diameter, used for fermenting food.

621 133 172 Northwest of Undu a few small, low house mounds, bordered by oval-shaped rings of stones, mark the site of old Undu, occupied, according to the natives, at the time of the measles epidemic (1875). The fortress of Thaukenaloa (p. 219) is situated on the edge of the limestone plateau southwest of Undu at an altitude of about 80 meters. Vakawangga (p. 220), a hamlet site, is located in a pocket in the limestone cliffs about 40 meters above old Undu. The Nambewa fortress is on the precipice north of the village.

WANGAVA

133 621 The uninhabited island of Wangava lies about 3 miles northeast of Kambara. The passage between the two islands, called Ai Vuthuninggase, is considered the roughest in Lau. Wangava is a forested, basin-shaped mass of limestone 3.3 miles in length, 1 mile wide, and 106.7 meters in altitude at the highest point. It is surrounded by a fringing reef.

In the center of the island is a brackish lake, called Sauvanaroa, 0.75 mile wide. The lake rises and falls with the tide. The lake is used by the natives for sea turtle breeding (p. 141). Fertile soil in the interior basin is used for manioc, sweet potato, banana, papaya and maize gardens by the Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara. However, only a small part of the arable land, which extends over most of the northeast end of the island, is cultivated. Part of it is planted with coconuts, but most of it is forested. Next to garden crops, the main resources of the island are hardwoods, especially greenheart, *mbau,* and ebony. A coarse quality of pandanus grows on [136] Wangava. Fish and shellfish abound, and the *kekewa,* a highly valued shellfish which flourishes in the Wangava lake, is found nowhere else in Lau.

[173] A few aged natives of Namuka say they were born on Wangava before the island was deserted. Informants believe the last village was abandoned between the coming of Christianity (about the middle of the nineteenth century) and the English flag (1874), because of illness caused perhaps by contaminated water, perhaps by evil spirits or sorcery.

The village site last occupied on Wangava is Ndaitukavondo on the sandy flat at Savena, the northeastern point of the island. Here are house sites and a Christian cemetery with about 16 graves. Eight temporary shelters at Ndaitukavondo accommodate gardeners and canoe travelers passing along the canoe route from Kambara to Namuka or Komo. The inhabitants of Wangava moved to Ndaitukavondo from Nambukua (p. 221), a village site on the ridge about 30 meters above, where many stone-flanked house foundations may be seen. Nambukua is said to have been the first Christian village on Wangava.

Two hamlet sites, Toyovu and Nawarowaro (p. 220), are located in the garden lands at the northeast end of the island, and another hamlet site,

Lolousiusi, is on the west side of the island above Vuninawanawa on the 621
west coast. At Vuninawanawa are two temporary shelters. 133

The two important fortress sites of Wangava are Korombalavu (Korong-
gara) (p. 220), a fortified cave with one entrance in the central basin and 621
another high up on the cliffs above the sea at Naivakevu on the north coast 133
of the island; and Ndengei (p. 219), a fortified village on the highest point 172
of the island, above Saurai on the west coast. A hamlet site called Nakumbua on the west Wangava beach below Ndengei is said to have been occupied by the inhabitants of Ndengei after the coming of Christianity.

My guide to the archaeological sites of Wangava was Rasolo of the Naivotavota clan, Nggalinggali, reputed to be the only one who knows their location.

NAMUKA

Namuka is a relatively fertile, limestone island about 4 miles long and 1
mile wide. The maximum elevation of the island is 79.2 meters. The island 621
is nearly surrounded by a barrier reef. Nawatchia, the only village on Namuka, 133
is located on a small bay on the south coast. Fifty sleeping houses occupied
by the 289 inhabitants are clustered around the ceremonial ground. Nawatchia [439]
has a Chinese store. Paths from the village lead to garden lands in the central
basin and northwest across the island to the only anchorage. Fresh water is obtained from a reservoir in the village.

Namuka is geologically older than the other limestone islands and of them has the richest garden lands. The island produces an abundance of food to
cover the needs of her population. The main garden products are manioc, [137]
sweet potato, and banana. Her principal resources are the paper mulberry
(called *masi, Broussonetia papyrifera*) and other plants used in making fine types of barkcloth.

MOTHE

Mothe is a circular volcanic island about 2.3 miles in diameter. It is surrounded by a barrier reef. The island rises from sandy beaches toward a central ridge, which attains a height of 179.8 meters at Ndelaimakotu hill. The hillside slopes are forest free, and fertile valleys are watered by creeks. Mothe is rich in garden lands but lacks the forest resources of the limestone islands. Besides an abundance of food, including yams and taro, as well as manioc and breadfruit, the island produces good paper mulberry.

The population of the island is concentrated at the southern end in the two villages of Nasau and Korotolu. These villages occupy adjacent sites, separated
only by a narrow drainage ditch. Nasau has 260 inhabitants occupying 52
sleeping houses. Korotolu has 80 inhabitants occupying 15 sleeping houses. [439]
Nasau has a Chinese store.

621 133 Paths connect the villages with garden lands along the coast and in the valleys. The landing opposite the passage on the east coast may be reached from the villages at either high or low tide by walking along the beach, which partially surrounds the island.

[312] Fresh water is obtained from the island creeks and from a large reservoir in Nasau.

[712] There are two important fortresses on Mothe: Ndelaimakotu, crowning the summit, and Ndelaimothe on a hill southwest of Ndelaimakotu.

Little information could be obtained concerning movements of the Mothe groups. According to informants, the Kamali clan has moved as follows:

> 166 621 At the time of Mirakilangi, seven generations ago, Kamali was living in Ndelaimothe with the Nasau, Nggali, and Vanganduku clans. Mirakilangi moved with the Kamali group to the hamlet, Tokanga, on the beach. At the time of Mbatchinimalungu, five generations ago, the Valelevu subclan lived at Wanggathiri and the Vunikavika subclan at Kauyawa, two hamlets on Kamali land in west Mothe. The two groups moved to the hamlet, Nggali. At the time of Siasi, three generations ago, they moved to the present site of Nasau. In the last generation Korotolu people have moved from Nggali to Vanganduku, thence to Leva, and thence to Korotolu, the present village site. Natives say that each move was made because of a hurricane or a tidal wave.

FULANGA

621 133 Fulanga is a horseshoe-shaped limestone island 5 miles long and about 3.5 miles wide, surrounded by a fringing reef. A ridge up to 79.2 meters high forms the backbone of the island. The island itself almost encircles a large, central lagoon, rich in fish and dotted with 300 to 400 mushroom-shaped islets.

Fulanga is a "famine" island producing insufficient food to cover the needs of the population. The soil is poor, and practically the only garden products are manioc and breadfruit. Fulanga raises a relatively large number of chickens. Her main resources are hardwoods, fish, shellfish, and pandanus of good quality.

Salia, the narrow, shallow passage to the central lagoon, is difficult even for small craft. The only anchorage is at Yawalevu on the south shore of the central lagoon. A path from Yawalevu runs southwestward over the island ridge through Muanaithake, one of the three villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake is located in an indentation on the south coast of the island. The same path connects Muanaithake with Muanaira village on the beach half a mile westward. At Muanaira the path turns northward to Vatuolo, a canoe landing at the southwest corner of the central lagoon. From Vatuolo it skirts the central lagoon through the bush to Naivindamu village on the northwest shore of the lagoon. Paths also connect Muanaithake with its meager garden lands, most of which lie east of the village on the southern horn of the island.

The large central lagoon provides Fulanga with the best fishing grounds in southern Lau. The islands in the main lagoon, used mostly for fishing, belong to Nasava and Vandravandra clans and to Muanaira and Naivindamu villages. The central lagoon is divided into three sections and each village owns the section adjacent to it. Each village holds exclusive fishing rights over its section which cannot be used by members of other villages without permission. Muanaithake's fishing grounds extend from Salia to Ndranukatava and from Nawautu to Matainiunga. Muanaira's fishing grounds include Yanuyanualou, Narakuraku to Nanggere to Salia. Naivindamu's include Lanaki to the reef, Yakaulau, Nggilanggilalevu and Nggilanggilalailai. 621 133

I estimated the population of Fulanga to be about 350. According to census reports, the population was 310 in 1921 (4) and 390 in 1936 (5).

MUANAITHAKE

Muanaithake is the largest and the ranking village on Fulanga. The census of 1936 (5) records that Muanaithake had 23 sleeping houses. The number in 1934 was not recorded. The sleeping houses are set in rows on either side of a wide path. The house mound of the chief of Fulanga faces the ceremonial ground in the center of the village. Thick, high house posts are still standing on this site, but the chief, who is old and feeble, lives in a smaller house behind it. Inhabitants say that the title of the village is Lomatchi, but the inhabitants of Muanaira also claim this title for their village.

When mosquitoes become troublesome in Muanaithake during the rainy season, most of the inhabitants move to Taluma, a windswept islet at the southeast end of the central lagoon, or to the islands of Mbaumbau and Nukuveilauvuraki. They sleep in temporary huts and leave the islets only to procure food and to attend ceremonies in the village. [221]

Informants of Vunikoro, the ranking clan on Fulanga, say the clan formerly lived at the hamlet Naiunduundu near Muanaithake. The title of the clan is Naiunduundu. They used the fortress, Nauluvatu, on the hill above Muanaithake and were the first settlers at Muanaithake village. [712]

MUANAIRA

Set in garden lands on the beach west of Muanaithake is Muanaira, a small village of 16 sleeping houses clustered about a central ceremonial ground.

The people of the village say that they lived at one time in Nauluvatu, the fortress on the cliffs above Muanaithake, and that from there they separated and formed the hamlets Narara, Nggilo, and Tawali, situated in the garden land between Muanaira and Muanaithake.

NAIVINDAMU

Naivindamu, a little village of 16 sleeping houses on the central lagoon, is one of the most isolated villages in Lau. The garden lands, behind and on

621 133 both sides of the village, are very poor. The men are expert fishers and the best sailors of Fulanga, an island noted for skill in navigation.

At Naivindamu the high tide mark almost reaches the kitchen huts along the beach. Between the months of January and March, when mosquitoes are [221] troublesome in the village, the people sleep in temporary shelters on Matafeke, an island in the central lagoon swept by the southeast trades. Four huts have been built on the table top of the island, which is not more than 15 meters in diameter. Matafeke is about 400 meters from Naivindamu and is reached by canoe and scaled at low tide by means of a wooden stepladder.

In the garden land on the lagoon shore about 1,200 meters south of Naivindamu lies the old hamlet site of Toka below the hill fortress of Tchinambua. The Naivindamu people say that both sites were occupied by their ancestors who moved from Toka to the present site. When Williams (27, vol. 2, p. 122), the first European missionary to visit Fulanga, came to the island in June 1842, he found four settlements: Toka, Naivindamu, Muanaira, and Muanaithake. The locations of the settlements are not stated, but it is probable that the inhabitants of Toka have moved within the last century to the southwest end of Naivindamu where they have formed the clan hamlet of Toka. Members of the Toka clan know little of their pedigrees.

ONGEA

The two main islands in the Ongea group are Ongea Levu, about 4 by 2 miles, and Ongea Ndriki, 1 by 1.8 miles. The maximum elevation of Ongea Levu is 91.4 meters. A barrier reef, encircling both limestone islands, encloses a deep lagoon which affords the best anchorage in southern Lau. Hence Ongea is visited by ships more frequently than the other southern islands.

The only village in the Ongea group is Naithulaianga, situated on an inlet at the southern end of Ongea Levu. No census was taken on Ongea, but the village headman said that the population of the village was 102. There are 25 sleeping houses in the village. Naithulaianga is connected with its garden lands by paths running northward into the interior of Ongea Levu. There are also garden lands and temporary huts on Ongea Ndriki. Though the Ongea soil is not rich it is better than that of Fulanga and the food problem is not so acute. The crops are manioc, sweet potatoes, and bananas. The principal resources of the island are hardwoods.

Naithulaianga is built on the shore of the lagoon. The high tide line is only a meter or two from the kitchen huts, two of which are protected by a limestone retaining wall 75 cm. high. Many of the houses in the village stand upon stone-faced mounds from 75 cm. to 1.5 meters high. According to the natives the village is flooded during hurricanes.

312 Fresh water is obtained from a concrete reservoir.

WESTERN AND TONGAN INFLUENCES

Although the Fiji Islands were discovered by the Dutch navigator, Tasman, 114 in 1643, little is known about the history of the group before the beginning of the nineteenth century. Early historical records on the Lau Islands are particularly scarce and fragmentary. They consist of accounts by early voyagers, such as Cook in 1774, Bligh in 1789 and 1792, Wilson in 1797, and Bellingshausen in 1820, which are quoted by Henderson (11) in his careful study of the discoverers of the Fiji Islands.

There is also an excellent account of Fijian culture by Williams (27, vol. 1), the missionary, who spent several years on the island of Lakemba.

The most valuable recent record is the account of Lau Island culture of 20 years ago by Hocart (15), who spent four years as a teacher on the island of Lakemba. Hocart visited the southern Lau Islands, but the bulk of his observations concern the more sophisticated native life on Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau.

In the last century Lauan culture has been altered considerably by influences from outside the Fiji group, especially from Europe and Tonga. The 177 175 history of the group and recent changes in the culture have been treated separately (22, 23). A summary of the history follows:

> In the early nineteenth century European traders were beginning to visit the main islands of the Fiji group, chiefly to collect sandalwood and bêche-de-mer. At this time there were a number of hostile, independent chiefdoms like Lakemba in Fiji. The most powerful among them were Mbau and Rewa in southeastern Viti Levu and Somosomo, Mathuata and Mbua in east, north and west Vanua Levu respectively. Perhaps the most far-reaching effect of early contact with western civilization was the introduction of firearms and western military tactics to Fiji. This intensified the struggle between the leading chiefdoms and led to the centralization of political power. It led to the use of larger forces and to an increase in the extent of cannibalism and human sacrifice. Thus in the first half of the century it was possible for the chiefdom of Mbau in east Viti Levu to become dominant in the Fiji group.
>
> The centralization of power had another important result. It prepared the way for the penetration of the Tongans. Contact of Tonga with the Fiji Islands began in the prehistoric period. Probably the Tongans, who were fearless navigators, discovered Lau accidentally when their large, double canoes were blown by the southeast trade winds to the group. Gradually economic exchange grew up between Tonga and Fiji. It was initiated and carried on by the Tongans, mainly because of the hardwood found in southern Lau and absent in Tonga. They visited the southern islands in order to build large double canoes, far superior to their own, which were fitted together with planks. They also obtained red paroquet (parakeet) feathers (which they exchanged with Samoa to be used in decorating fine mats) from Taveuni and sandalwood from Mbua. They gave Tongan articles such as whales' teeth, barkcloth, and inlaid clubs in return. They also paid in services such as the loan of women and help in warfare. Since the art of warfare was more highly developed in Fiji than in Tonga, young Tongan noblemen often spent a few years in the service of Lauan or Fijian chiefs. In return for their services in warfare, Tongan warriors were occasionally given land; and gradually colonies of Tongans grew up in Lau, Vanua Levu, and the islands of the Koro Sea.
>
> By the middle of the nineteenth century the Tongans in Fiji had grown unruly, and as a result of many complaints against them, King George of Tonga sent the Tongan

177 chief, Maafu, to govern them. Maafu organized a band of Tongan warriors and became powerful in the chiefdom of Lakemba. He procured the support of the missionaries by 175 promising that conquered groups would be required to become Christian. He was the first to use cannon on canoes in Fiji. By the clever policy of aiding the weaker side in a struggle between two Fijian groups and using the victory thus gained for his own ends, he succeeded in gaining control of Lau, the Koro Sea, and most of Vanua Levu. He seriously threatened the supremacy of Mbau, whose high chief, Thakombau, applied as a last resort to Great Britain. The conquest of Fiji by the Tongans was averted when the group became a British Crown Colony in 1874.

The Tongans were used as a wedge into Fijian culture by the English Wesleyan Methodist missionaries who came to Lau from their mission center in Tonga where they had made many converts. They established their first Fijian mission on Lakemba in 1835. They used Tongan teachers and for some time their only converts in Fiji were Tongans. During the first 15 years the Lakemba mission made slow headway, but finally in 1850 the high chief of Lau was converted and the gospel was soon established on the southern islands. Small churches in charge of native missionaries were built on each island.

The missionaries waged a death struggle against god houses, hereditary priesthood, cannibalism, human sacrifice, widow strangling, infanticide, and the tattooing of women. The most important result of their proselyting was the change wrought in the religio-magic world of the natives. In opposition to the Christian God, the native deities were said to be devils (*tevoro*). This resulted in a psychological conflict, which weakened the system of ancestor worship, the basis of the social system. On one side were the powerful, ancestral mana givers, on the other was the Christian God. For a time the ancestral gods were eclipsed by the Christian God who, because of the white man's power, appeared to have more mana. But the old gods were still greatly feared and secretely propitiated. Gradually, as the natives began to react against western ideas, they turned more and more to their ancestors. The gospel taught by the missionaries (*lotu*) tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value.

After the British annexation the missionaries were aided by the colonial government. Almost immediately warfare ceased and the scattered clan hamlets were consolidated into coast villages. The colonial government followed the policy of the mission in attempting to uphold the native system of chieftainship and rank. As far as possible the local chiefs were appointed as native colonial officials, but since the highest ranking individuals were not always best qualified to hold office, personality as well as rank had to be considered. The result was the split of the authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs among the chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries.

Western influence, beginning with warfare and religion, and working through the social system, finally reached a peak through the economic life. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century copra became an important export of Fiji. Southern Lau offered valuable coconut lands and the coconut acreage was increased. In exchange for copra the Lauans received trade goods. They neglected their economic pursuits to work on the plantations. The ensuing period of prosperity lasted until the slump in the copra after the war.

177 Today, although the copra market has improved, most of the islands remain unvisited by traders. Western trade goods are disappearing and the natives are reestablishing their old economic independence. For a discussion of recent changes and problems in the economic life of southern Lau see "Fijian Frontier" (23, pp. 75-104).

636 The British colonial officials have established a system of indirect rule in Fiji as follows (23, pp. 61-62):

> Fiji is divided into eighteen magisterial districts or provinces. These provinces (except Lau) are presided over by European district commissioners. The district commis-

sioner works with the native provincial head, who is a local high chief and bears the recent political title of *roko*. The *roko* is in charge of the native affairs of the province. 636 The native administration of each province is in the hands of a provincial council, presided over by the secretary for native affairs and composed of representatives from the district councils and certain native government officials. The provincial council sits annually.

Each province is composed of a number of districts. The districts frequently demark minor historic political divisions headed by a local chief. Each district is administered by a native government official entitled *mbuli* (district headman). The *mbuli* is usually a local chief. He presides over a district council composed of local chiefs and village headmen in the district. The district council sits monthly. It controls the domestic affairs of each district and appoints the village headmen. Each district is composed of a number of villages. A village headman (entitled *turanga ni koro*) is in charge of each village. He is head of the village assembly in which all important affairs of the village are discussed.

On each island there is a native resident missionary, trained in a mission 797 school and appointed by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, in charge of a mission church. The natives contribute a quarterly tithe to the mission and attend church on Sundays. Their children are baptized, and Christian marriage and death rites supplement the native ones. The influence of the mission in Lau has been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 110-123).

Each island has at least one native schoolmaster in charge of a village 871 school. He has been trained in a mission or a government teachers' training school. He teaches the children reading and writing in the Mbauan dialect and simple arithmetic during two or three hours several mornings a week. The problems of education in Lau have been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 140-145).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

SOCIAL GROUPS

First the social groups of Lau and then the organization of each village 621 will be described in detail.

The largest kinship unit in Lau is the phratry (*yavusa*). It is based on the 631 historic settlement of the islands. Each phratry consists of a group of clans 618 (*matanggali*). The clans formerly occupied hamlets (*tokatoka*) in garden lands or clearings in the bush. Since the abolition of warfare in Lau the hamlets have moved to the coast and united into villages, many retaining their local unity. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, both kinship and geographic units. They are divided into subclans (called *tokatoka* or *mbatchi ni lovo*), which are subdivided into families or households (*vuvale*).

The largest geographical unit in Lau is the chiefdom (formerly called *mata ni tu*), which consists of groups of islands or minor chiefdoms united in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. In each minor chiefdom are several villages (*koro*). Each village is composed of several clan-hamlets.

KINSHIP GROUPS

THE PHRATRY

615 618 I have used the term phratry (*yavusa*) to designate a group of clans believed to have descended from a common mythical ancestor or group of ancestors. The ancestor may have been a human being, an animal or a plant. The phratry is to some extent also a racial, a ceremonial, and an occupational classification. It serves as a broad basis for the ranking system.

There are five phratries in southern Lau: the land phratry (*yavusa vanua*); the chiefs' phratry (*yavusa turanga*); the chiefs' carpenters (*matai sau*); the *lemaki* carpenters (*matai lemaki*); and the sea people (*kai wai*). Most of the clans of the islands studied belong to either the land or the chiefs' phratry.

The land phratry

The members of the land phratry (*yavusa vanua*) are called land people (*kai vanua*). On each island they claim descent from the earliest known inhabitants of the land (*na vanua*). Members of the land phratry on each island are united by a belief in their common mythical origin in some natural phenomenon. The land people on Kambara and their relatives, the former inhabitants of Wangava, believe they originated in the *ngingia* tree (*Suriana maritima*) (p. 105). Those of Fulanga claim descent from a hen (*toa*), those of Mothe from an *ivi* tree, and those of Namuka are supposed to have descended from a white dog (p. 106). There are no other stories of the origin of the land people and no migration tales concerning them. Clans of the land phratry have little interest in their genealogies which they trace back not more than four to six generations and always to ancestors born in Lau.

As a group the land people are recognized to be shorter, darker skinned, more frizzly haired, coarser featured, in short more Melanesian in racial type, than the other inhabitants of Lau. Their movements and manners are considered awkward. They seem to have more sense of humor and to be more modest and less materialistic than members of the other phratries. They make the best gardeners in Lau and own the greater part of the garden land.

[565] The land phratry ranks lowest of all the phratries in Lau. Its members are considered to be commoners and to form the lower class of the population. It is the largest phratry in Lau. On the islands visited it is strongest on Fulanga, Ongea, and Namuka. Usually at least 80 percent of the population of a village belongs to the land phratry. Many villages consist of clans belonging to the land phratry only.

The chiefs' phratry

Members of the chiefs' phratry (*yavusa turanga*) claim descent from a group of immigrants led by the war hero Ndaunisai who, according to tradition, came to southern Lau from northeast Viti Levu (p. 38). Most clans in this phratry trace their pedigrees nine to twelve generations directly to 615 Ndaunisai (table 2, following p. 32). The group is believed to have descended 618 from a common mythical ancestor, Ndengei, the great snake god of Viti Levu. Ndengei is believed to be the forefather of Ndaunisai.

Members of the chiefs' phratry are considered to be taller, fairer skinned, less frizzly haired and finer featured, in short more Polynesian in racial type, than the members of the land phratry.

The chiefs' phratry holds the highest rank in Lau. It constitutes the Lauan [565] nobility, and its members together with those of the carpenter phratries and the sea people form the upper class, as opposed to the land people or lower class. Members of the chiefs' phratry are interested in etiquette and chiefly ceremonial. They have graceful manners and a dignified bearing. They are poor gardeners and dislike working on the land, but they are expert sailors and fishermen and were formerly great warriors.

The village of Tumbou, Lakemba, is the center of the nobility of Lau. According to the genealogies, clans belonging definitely to the chiefs' phratry are found in southern Lau only in the village of Nasau on Mothe and in the villages of Nggalinggali and Tokalau on Kambara. No village is composed entirely of clans belonging to the upper class.

The chiefs' carpenters

Ancestors of the chiefs' carpenter phratry (*matai sau*), according to Fijian lore, migrated from northeast Viti Levu to southern Lau before the Ndaunisai movement. They came in search of the greenheart. The group claims Rokola, [776] the god of carpenters, as their forefather.

According to the clan genealogies, the chiefs' carpenter group first established itself on Kambara where it founded the Saumua clan of Undu. The people of Kambara say that the Saumua clan provided the carpenters for the chiefs of Kambara before the coming of the *lemaki* carpenters.

According to the genealogies, the chiefs' carpenters spread from Kambara to Namuka and Fulanga. Seven generations ago Matakali of the Saumua clan, Undu, founded a chiefs' carpenter line in Fulanga which is now a part of the Nggalitoka clan. A chiefs' carpenter line in Fulanga, belonging to the Nasava clan, Muanaithake, also traces its ancestry back seven generations to Matakali of Saumua. As Matakali does not appear in the pedigree of the Undu group, which extends back only six generations, this information cannot be checked. The headman of these three clans (Saumua, Nggalitoka, and Nasava) hold the hereditary clan title of *matai sau*, a ranking island title. Every male in these groups is trained to be a carpenter. These were the only chiefs' carpenters found on the islands visited.

Lemaki carpenters

615 The *lemaki* carpenter phratry (*matai lemaki*), according to tradition and pedigree, was founded by Lemaki, a Samoan carpenter who came to Lau
618 from Samoa about eight generations ago, after the chiefs' phratry was well established in Lau. Tatchini, the headman of the Matai Lemaki clan in Nggalinggali, Kambara, said the group originated as follows:

> Lemaki, Tatchini's ancestor seven generations back, was a carpenter born on Manono Island, Samoa. He went from Samoa to Nukulofa, Tonga, whence he was sent to Lau for the purpose of building a large, double canoe for the Tongan king. He became carpenter to the high chief of Lau at Lakemba and established a hereditary line of carpenters to the high chief. Lemaki's first son, Manako Siali (Makasiali), and his grandsons spread the *lemaki* line to the southern islands, where they built canoes of hardwoods unobtainable in the north. Malamala, Manako Siali's first-born son, settled on Kambara, where he became the carpenter to the chief of Kambara. Later he was driven from Tokalau because of an affair with the chief's wife. He went to the other side of the island and the chief of Nggalinggali received him and gave him a house site called Tangguiwai, in the old village. With his principal wife, Ndranivasa of the chiefs' phratry, he founded the Matai Lemaki clan.

The headman of the clan holds the hereditary clan title of *matai lemaki*. According to Tatchini, the group formerly specialized in making double canoes of the *tambetembete* type (pp. 186-187); houses of the *vale vaka tonga* type (pp. 160-169); and multiple-legged kava bowls, especially ten-legged bowls, which they are reputed to have introduced into Lau. Today *lemaki* carpenters are hired to direct island, village and clan communal activities. They also work the clan garden lands.

Except in Nggalinggali, *lemaki* blood was absorbed by local clans in southern Lau. For example, according to the genealogies recorded on Namuka, Matathatchi, one of Malamala's wives, belonged to the Mboutolu clan on Namuka. Their son, Sekope, born on Namuka, established a hereditary line of carpenters in Mboutolu, his mother's clan.

The sea people

Two clans in southern Lau, Vandravandra on Fulanga and Tawalo on Ongea, call themselves sea people (*kai wai*). Although I was unable to determine the full significance of this term, on the basis of the following evidence I have classed the sea people as a separate phratry.

The genealogies of the two clans are known for only six generations and during this time they show no kinship to each other. Each is traced to a local ancestor but they may, of course, have had a common ancestor before the six generations recorded. An old informant on Fulanga says that before coming to Fulanga the Vandravandra group lived at Narothake on the island of Ngau in the Lomai Viti group, Fiji. The clan headman of Vandravandra holds the title Tui Naro and Fulanga informants agree that the clan formerly lived at a hamlet site called Narothake on the island.

It is probable that the Vandravandra clan is related to a historic group of sailors and fishermen who were expelled from Mbau island and fled eastward. Remnants of this group are known to have settled in the Lomai Viti islands, at Levuka village on Lakemba, and elsewhere in eastern Fiji. The Levuka people call themselves *kai wai*. In the past they formed a professional caste. The men were sailors and traders and the women were potters. 615 618

According to Hocart (15, p. 18), the Ndaulakemba clan of Levuka holds the hereditary clan title of master fisherman (*ndau*). The two clans of sea people in southern Lau, Vandravandra and Tawalo, also hold the title of master fisherman. On Kambara and Mothe the title is held, however, by clans that are not called sea people. The master fisherman of Kambara belongs to the Vuanitavola clan of the chiefs' phratry and that of Mothe to the Nggali clan of the land phratry. On Fulanga, the master fisherman holds an especially high local rank. He is considered to be chief of the sea, as Tui Fulanga is chief of the land. This may be because fishing is particularly important as a source of food on Fulanga where the master fisherman has retained more of his functions than on any other island in southern Lau.

THE CLAN

I have used the term clan (*matanggali*) to designate a unilateral kinship unit which is, as a rule, exogamous, patrilineal, and patrilocal. 618

Theoretically, a clan consists of the descendants of a band of brothers who occupied a hamlet site. A few clans trace their pedigrees to the original bands. Hamlet sites are found on the islands today, in garden land or in the bush. They often bear the names of the clan or subclans which formerly occupied them. They are usually near a fortress site, which is located on a promontory or hill, and defended by means of tiers of rough stone walls. Old informants say that the hamlet dwellers occupied the fortresses only in times of warfare. The hamlet was formerly the land-owning unit, possessing proprietary rights over the hamlet site and the garden and bush lands in the vicinity. With the cessation of warfare after the advent of Christianity most hamlets moved to more convenient sites along the coast. In this they were encouraged by the colonial government, and today all the natives live in coast villages. Several neighboring hamlets united to form one village, in which each retained its local unity. The hamlet units grew into clans and their local unity is still clear in most villages.

Formerly each clan had its own gods which were incarnated in species of natural phenomena (pp. 109-111).

Each ranking clan owns one or more hereditary titles, which determine its rank and affect the rank of its members. The titles are held by the clan headman (*turanga ni matanggali*), who directs the affairs of the group. The office of clan headman is hereditary, descending from the first-born male to his 618 428

618 428 classificatory brothers by seniority or, if he has no brothers, to his eldest son. The title remains in the subclan of the first-born of the original band. There are, however, exceptions to this rule of succession. If the rightful descendant is mentally deficient, either the next in succession becomes headman or the elders of the clan choose a headman from among themselves. Although the affairs of the clan are discussed by the male clan elders, the headman makes important decisions and has a strong influence on the social, economic, and ceremonial activities of his clan.

The clan directs the economic activities of its members. Its headman controls the clan lands, which are divided between the subclans and frequently between families. The clan acts as an economic unit in communal industrial activities such as housebuilding, canoe building, and barkcloth manufacture, and in the provision of food and property for tribute and for village, island, and interisland feasts. As the most important ceremonial unit in the community, it regulates clan feasts, which mark a change in individual status such as birth, marriage, or death. It celebrates all clan, village, island and interisland feasts as a unit and receives one share of food at all interclan feasts.

The subclan

A large clan consists of two or three subclans. The senior subclan, direct descendant of the original clan-hamlet by primogeniture, is called *i tokatoka*. Occasionally it bears the name of one of the *tokatoka* formerly occupied by the group. It provides the clan headman. The junior subclans are called *mbatchi ni lovo* (literally "teeth or edge of the earth oven"), that is, assistants to the senior subclan in providing and preparing food for a large feast.

A subclan may originate by splitting a clan, grown too large to perform its functions or to be satisfied with one share of a large feast (pp. 41, 42). Theoretically, each part would then consist of the descendants of one of the brothers in the original band of brothers from which the clan originated. The senior subclan—the group descended from the senior branch—would hold highest rank in the clan, the other subclans ranking according to seniority. A subclan may also originate when a man, waiving the rule of patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, marries into a clan and his children form a new subclan within that of their mother (pp. 54-55).

The subclan, functioning under the clan headman, serves to subdivide the social, economic, and ceremonial activities of the clan. It often functions as an economic unit in the daily tasks of gardening, fishing, sailing, barkcloth making, and mat plaiting. Some small subclans prepare the evening meal as a group, using the same earth oven and kitchen hut. Small feasts are celebrated by the subclan only.

THE FAMILY

A small clan or a subclan is composed of one or more *vuvale* (families or 592 households). A *vuvale* usually consists of one family including a man, his wife, their children, and other near relatives. The group usually owns a 593 sleeping house, a kitchen hut, and an earth oven shelter. Some families also own a men's house, used by the father of the family when his wife is child bearing, and by the youths, unmarried men, and widowers of the group. As a rule the family functions as a unit in planting, gathering, preparing and eating its daily food.

LOCAL GROUPS

THE CHIEFDOM

The chiefdom of Lakemba is composed of a group of minor chiefdoms 631 (formerly called *mata ni tu*) held in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. Besides Lakemba and Naiau, the chiefdom consists of Kambara 174 with its dependencies (Namuka and Komo) and its uninhabited possessions (Wangava, Marambo, and Tavunasithi); Mothe with its uninhabited possession (Karoni); Oneata; Fulanga with its dependency (Ongea), its uninhabited possessions (Yangasa cluster) and Ongea's uninhabited possession (Ongea Ndriki); Thithia; and Ono with its dependency (Vatoa) and uninhabited possessions (Tuvana-i-tholo and Tuvana-i-ra).

The chiefdom resulted from the unification and organization of society in southern Lau, which began with the arrival of the immigrants from Viti Levu and was strengthened and accelerated by Tongan and finally European influences (pp. 29-30). Rivalry grew up between the clans of the nobles. Intervillage and interisland warfare followed. The nobles protected themselves with fortresses (p. 104). Their war leaders (*tamata nganga*) were aided by their allies (*mbatchi*) until gradually the strong groups reduced the weak ones to dependency.

There were three grades of dependency between political groups: *mbatchi, nggali,* and *kai si.* Moto of Undu says that a *mbatchi* is a man who helps because of kinship, not because he is forced to do so. According to Wilkes (26, p. 59) the term "*mbatchi*" means ally, or under the protection of a power though not actually subject to it, and the term "*nggali*" means subject to a power and compelled to pay yearly tribute or obliged to satisfy the demands of the chiefs. According to Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 19) the *nggali* type of subjection includes a province or town subject or tributary to a chief town, and the *mbatchi* type includes provinces or towns not so directly subject, less oppressed, and less respected. In general the *mbatchi* includes those groups which were compelled to respond when the chief called for help in warfare; and the *nggali* includes conquered groups from whom the chief extracted regular tribute in food and industrial produce. Groups that were completely defeated in warfare were either destroyed or reduced to *kai si*, the lowest possible rank, becoming the chief's slaves who labored for him, provided his daily food, and built his houses.

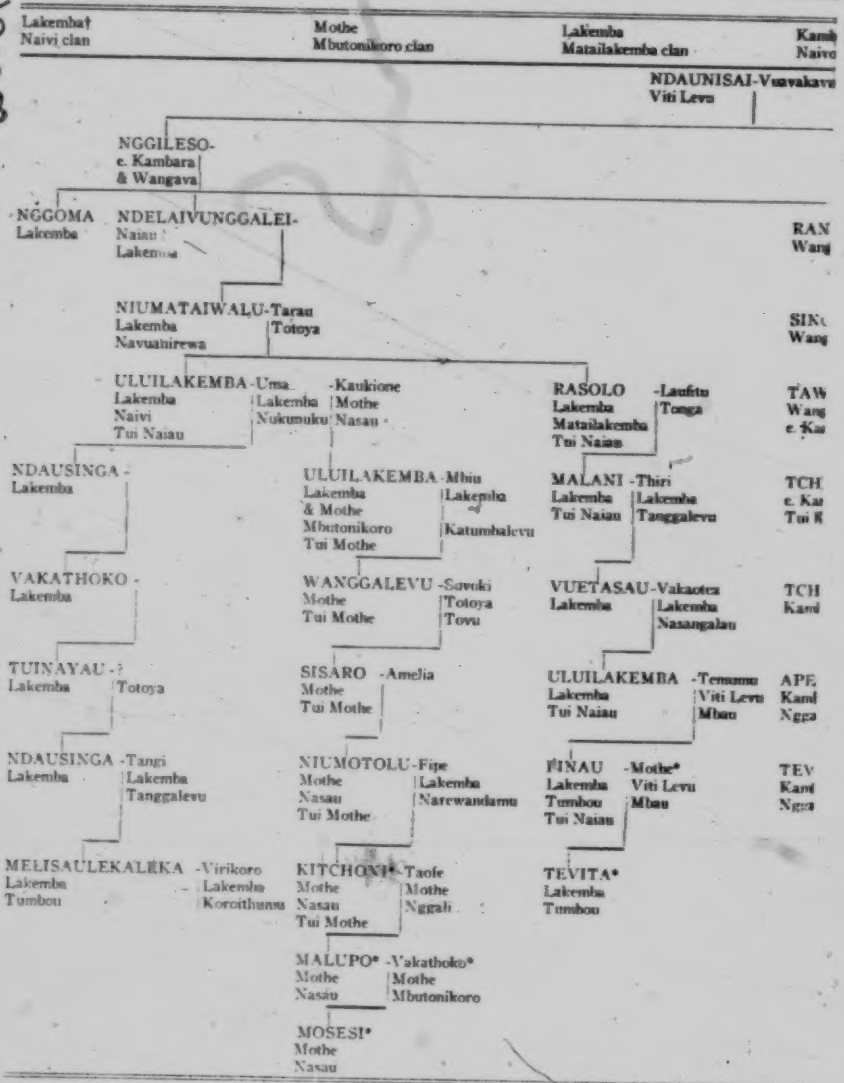
How the southern islands became attached to the chiefdom of Lakemba is not definitely known. It is the concensus in both Lau and in Viti Levu, however, that Kambara was formerly a rich and powerful chiefdom and that it held the highest rank in Lau before the rise of Lakemba. According to genealogies, legends, and statements of informants, Ndaunisai settled on Kambara, which was already inhabited by the land people, and established the noble class there. The nobles spread in Lau by tradition as follows:

> Ndaunisai built the fortress of Nambewa in east Kambara. Ndaunisai had three sons, Wetasau and Nggileso by a woman called Vuavakavutu, Nawasambalavu by a woman called Naitukuninggila (table 2, next page). Vuavakavutu's kin are not known but Naitukuninggila belonged to the land people of Kambara. Wetasau established himself in east Kambara, Nggileso on Wangava, which was inhabited by the land people, and Nawasambalavu in west Kambara. Rivalry grew among the three brothers. Kelei, the son of Wetasau, and Sue, the son of Kelei strengthened east Kambara; during this time they acquired the island of Namuka, probably by destroying the aborigines, who were land people. They colonized the island with people from east Kambara. The descendants of Nawasambalavu strengthened west Kambara and acquired the island of Komo, probably in similar fashion. They colonized Komo with people from west Kambara. Nggileso built the fortress of Ndengei in west Wangava. He had three sons, Nggoma, who was the first-born, Ndelaivunggalei, and Randauvala. Nggoma established himself on Lakemba, Ndelaivunggalei on Naiau, and Randauvala succeeded his father on Wangava.
>
> Niumataiwalu, the son of Ndelaivunggalei, killed Nggoma and his sons and established himself as chief of both Lakemba and Naiau. He founded the Navuanirewa clan which was later divided into the Naivi, Matailakemba, Vatuwangga and Koroithumu clans and provided the high chief of Lau (table 2). Niumataiwalu had two sons, Uluilakemba I and Rasolo, by Tarau, a Totoya woman. Uluilakemba I had several sons. Among them were Ndausinga, the first-born, by Uma of Nukunuku, Ndranivia by a woman from Kambara, and Uluilakemba II by Kaukione of the Nasau clan, Mothe. Ndausinga founded the Naivi clan. Ndranivia married Ufia of Totoya—probably the same woman who was stolen by Sue of Kambara and from Sue by Singambongi of Wangava—who became the mother of Mbuatoka and Tawaketchini.
>
> Uluilakemba II with his wife, Mbiu of Katumbalevu, Lakemba, established himself on Mothe which was inhabited by land people. Mothe had two chiefs, one from Nasau clan on the south side and the other, probably from Nggali clan, on the north. Uluilakemba settled on the side of Nasau, his mother's clan, and united the island under his rule. He held the title of chief of Mothe and founded the Mbutonikoro clan.
>
> Niumataiwalu's second son, Rasolo, succeeded Uluilakemba I as chief of Lakemba. He married Laufitu of Tonga and founded the Matailakemba clan. Other sons of Niumataiwalu founded the Vatuwangga and Koroithumu clans of Navuanirewa, Lakemba.
>
> Randauvala, the son of Nggileso, who remained on Wangava, had a son, Singambongi. Singambongi stole Ufia from Sue, chief of east Kambara, who had stolen her from a chief of Lakemba. Ufia bore two sons on Wangava, Mbuatoka and Tawaketchini. Informants on Kambara do not know whether the father of Mbuatoka was Sue or Singambongi but they agree that Singambongi was the father of Tawaketchini. Sue, with the help of Ufia's kin in Totoya, killed Singambongi on Wangava and rescued Ufia.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

615
618
173

TABLE 2. ABSTRACT OF THE RECONSTRUCTED GENEALO

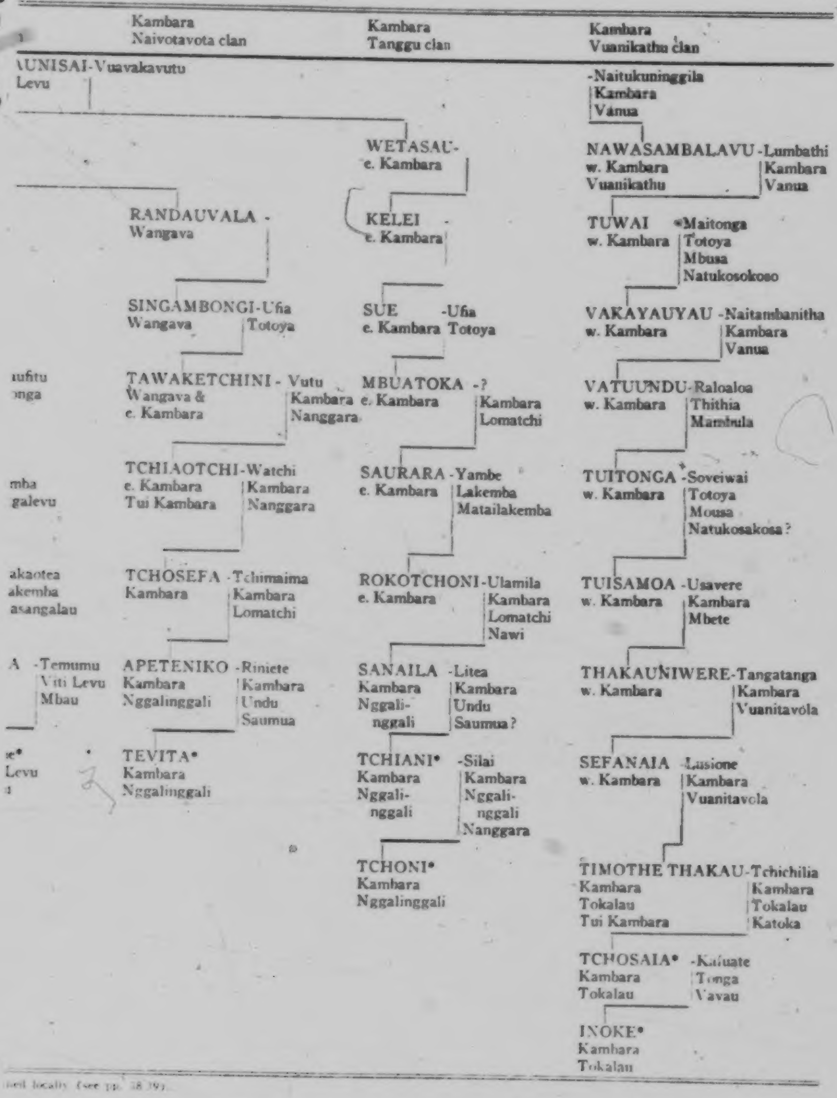

Lakemba†
Naivi clan
Mothe
Mbutonikoro clan
Lakemba
Matailakemba clan
Kamb
Naivo
NDAUNISAI-Vuuvakava
Viti Levu
NGGILESO-
e. Kambara
& Wangava
NGGOMA
Lakemba
NDELAIVUNGGALEI-
Naiau
Lakemba
RAN
Wang
NIUMATAIWALU-Taran
Lakemba
Navuanirewa
Totoya
SIK
Wang
ULUILAKEMBA-Uma
Lakemba
Naivi
Tui Naiau
Lakemba
Nukunuku
-Kaukione
Mothe
Nasau
RASOLO -Laufitu
Lakemba
Matailakemba
Tui Naiau
Tonga
TAW
Wang
e. Ka
NDAUSINGA-
Lakemba
ULUILAKEMBA-Mbiu
Lakemba
& Mothe
Mbutonikoro
Tui Mothe
Lakemba
Katumbalevu
MALANI -Thiri
Lakemba
Tui Naiau
Lakemba
Tanggalevu
TCH
e. Ka
Tui K
VAKATHOKO-
Lakemba
WANGGALEVU -Sovoki
Mothe
Tui Mothe
Totoya
Tovu
VUETASAU-Vakaotea
Lakemba
Lakemba
Nasangalau
TCH
Kam
TUINAYAU-?
Lakemba
Totoya
SISARO -Amelia
Mothe
Tui Mothe
ULUILAKEMBA -Temumu
Lakemba
Tui Naiau
Viti Levu
Mbau
APE
Kam
Ngga
NDAUSINGA -Tangi
Lakemba
Lakemba
Tanggalevu
NIUMOTOLU-Fipe
Mothe
Nasau
Tui Mothe
Lakemba
Narewandamu
FINAU -Mothe*
Lakemba
Tumbou
Tui Naiau
Viti Levu
Mbau
TEV
Kam
Ngga
MELISAULEKALEKA -Virikoro
Lakemba
Tumbou
Lakemba
Koroithumu
KITCHONI*-Taofe
Mothe
Nasau
Tui Mothe
Mothe
Nggali
TEVITA*
Lakemba
Tumbou
MALUPO* -Vakathoko*
Mothe
Nasau
Mothe
Mbutonikoro
MOSESI*
Mothe
Nasau

a† The Lakemba branch is taken from Hocart (15, Appendix); the others from genealogies obtained locally (see pp. 3? f
* Indicates those living in 1933.

[p 38(A)]

615
618
173

TRUCTED GENEALOGY OF THE CHIEFS' PHRATRY IN LAU


Kambara
Naivotavota clan
Kambara
Tanggu clan
Kambara
Vuanikathu clan
UNISAI-Vuavakavutu
Levu
-Naitukuninggila
Kambara
Vanua
WETASAU-
e. Kambara
NAWASAMBALAVU-Lumbathi
w. Kambara
Vuanikathu
Kambara
Vanua
RANDAUVALA -
Wangava
KELEI -
e. Kambara
TUWAI *Maitonga
w. Kambara
Totoya
Mbusa
Natukosokoso
SINGAMBONGI-Ufia
Wangava
Totoya
SUE -Ufia
e. Kambara
Totoya
VAKAYAUYAU -Naitambanitha
w. Kambara
Kambara
Vanua
ufitu
nga
TAWAKETCHINI - Vutu
Wangava &
e. Kambara
Kambara
Nanggara
MBUATOKA -?
e. Kambara
Kambara
Lomatchi
VATUUNDU-Raloaloa
w. Kambara
Thithia
Mambula
mba
galevu
TCHIAOTCHI-Watchi
e. Kambara
Tui Kambara
Kambara
Nanggara
SAURARA -Yambe
e. Kambara
Lakemba
Matailakemba
TUITONGA -Soveiwai
w. Kambara
Totoya
Mousa
Natukosakosa?
akaotea
akemba
asangalau
TCHOSEFA -Tchimaima
Kambara
Kambara
Lomatchi
ROKOTCHONI-Ulamila
e. Kambara
Kambara
Lomatchi
Nawi
TUISAMOA -Usavere
w. Kambara
Kambara
Mbete
A -Temumu
Viti Levu
Mbau
APETENIKO -Riniete
Kambara
Nggalinggali
Kambara
Undu
Saumua
SANAILA -Litea
Kambara
Nggali-
nggali
Kambara
Undu
Saumua?
THAKAUNIWERE-Tangatanga
w. Kambara
Kambara
Vuanitavola
e*
Levu
TEVITA*
Kambara
Nggalinggali
TCHIANI* -Silai
Kambara
Nggali-
nggali
Kambara
Nggali-
nggali
Nanggara
SEFANAIA -Lusione
w. Kambara
Kambara
Vuanitavola
TCHONI*
Kambara
Nggalinggali
TIMOTHE THAKAU-Tchichilia
Kambara
Tokalau
Tui Kambara
Kambara
Tokalau
Katoka
TCHOSAIA* -Kafuate
Kambara
Tokalau
Tonga
Vavau
INOKE*
Kambara
Tokalau

ned locally (see pp. 38-39).

631 174 Mbuatoka, either by kinship or conquest, succeeded Sue as leader of the east side of Kambara. He lived at Nakoro, a fortress on the cliff above the present site of Nggalinggali and took to wife the sister of Thakauniwere, chief of the east side of the island. Mbuatoka's descendants comprise the Tanggu clan of Nggalinggali. Thakauniwere was a direct descendant of Nawasambalavu, a son of Ndaunisai, who founded the Vuanikathu clan (table 2). Thakauniwere lived in Nakorovusa, a fortress on the cliffs above Tokalau. He led the west side against the east, killed Mbuatoka, and took his sister back to Nakorovusa.

Tawaketchini, who succeeded his brother Mbuatoka, founded the Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali. The fight between the two sides of the island continued, Tawaketchini leading the east, and a warrior called Tawakerua the west. Tawakerua was victorious and it was perhaps at this time that part of the Naivotavota clan joined the Vuanitavola clan on the west side. Tawaketchini died by falling from a coconut tree and was succeeded by his son, Tchiaotchi, whose mother was Vutu of the Nanggara clan. Tchiaotchi united the island and was installed as the first chief of Kambara. During Tchiaotchi's rule the influence of Lakemba on Kambara was strengthened. The Kambarans say that Lakemban influence was responsible for a meeting of the two sides of the island held at an assembly house (*vale ni mbose*) situated near Naimarai, the Tongan village at the north end of the island, in order to stop the war between them.

Informants agree that Kambara is ally (*mbatchi*) to Lakemba. Moto of Undu says that Kambara became ally to Lakemba when an agreement based on kinship was made between the two island units, Kambara agreeing to furnish manufactured goods to Lakemba in exchange for food. When Tchiaotchi died, Manoa, his sister's son (*vasu*), was appointed his successor by Roko Taliai, the chief at Lakemba. Manoa was installed as chief of Kambara. He became a Christian and soon the whole island was converted. During his reign the Tongans became powerful in Lau, and Timothe Thakau was appointed Tongan magistrate on Kambara. When Manoa died Timothe Thakau was appointed by the high chief at Lakemba as Manoa's successor, and he was installed as chief of Kambara. Soon after this the British took possession of Fiji and Timothe Thakau became the first district headman (*mbuli*) of Kambara. Timothe was the last chief of Kambara to be installed. From this time on district headmen have been appointed by the colonial officials.

From the above account it appears that the Kambara group, Mothe and Naiau, became attached to the chiefdom of Lakemba through kinship and warfare.

According to the natives, Fulanga reduced Ongea to dependency after a long, hard conquest. Some informants say that Fulanga is ally (*mbatchi*) to Kambara while others deny the relationship, but Kambarans agree that the Fulangans are people of lowest rank (*kai si*). It is said that if natives of Fulanga come to Tokalau, the chief village of Kambara, they are not allowed to walk erectly through the village but must bow their heads in an attitude of respect. As a matter of fact the Fulangans avoid Kambara, and, although they sail and trade a great deal, they never voluntarily touch its shores.

631 Today each minor chiefdom holds a definite rank in relation to the others and to Lakemba. This rank is expressed in the division of shares at an inter-island feast and, according to the southern natives, the order is as follows: Lakemba, Naiau, Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Fulanga, Thithia, Ono. Hocart (15, p. 25) states that he heard the shares of a feast called out at Lakemba

631 in the following order: Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Ono, Fulanga (sometimes Ono before Oneata). For the order at the high chief's funeral see page 98.

Tribute consisting of whales' teeth (*tambua*) and local produce is paid to the high chief by minor chiefdoms (p. 37) at the installation, marriage, and death of a high chief; at the birth, marriage, and death of important members of his family; or upon requisition of the high chief or his sister's son. A small countergift, such as tobacco or a feast, is usually given in return for chiefly tribute and is always of far less value than the gift.

Each minor chiefdom has a hereditary chief (*tui*). The title, chief of an island, is hereditary in the senior subclan of the highest ranking clan of the group. Other hereditary clan titles of the minor chiefdom are: herald (*mata ni vanua*), master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*), chief of crops (*vaka vanua*) or chief's administrator (*takala*), master carpenter (*matai*), envoy to Lakemba (*mata ki Lakemba*), and chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui rara*). The functions of these titles have been described in the section on clan titles (pp. 45-53).

Under the colonial government, minor chiefdoms have been organized into political districts under a district headman. Island assemblies are held to arrange the collection and presentation of tribute to the chief or taxes to the colonial government; the reception of a visiting chief or government official; interisland feasts and ceremonial exchanges. Native district courts are held to try petty offenses against native regulations.

The district is also a property-owning unit (p. 125).

The Village

621 Each minor chiefdom is composed of a group of villages. The villages are graded according to the hereditary rank of the clans of which they are composed.

622 The chief political officer of the village is the village headman appointed by the colonial government to apportion and direct the communal work of the village. He sees that it is kept clean, and recommends the repair and rebuilding of houses according to the village plan ordered by the government. As the representative of the colonial government, he is responsible for collecting tribute and taxes. Village affairs are discussed by an assembly of

The district is also a property-owning unit (p. 125).

The main functions of the village are economic and ceremonial. It acts as a unit in such communal activities as turtle fishing and organized fishing, house and canoe building, the making of large strips of barkcloth, large mats, and large nets. As a group it participates in village, inter-village, and inter-island feasts, and it competes with other villages in ceremonial exchanges, games, and dances. There is a strong spirit of rivalry between villages.

The village is also a property-owning unit (pp. 124-125).

TOKALAU

Tokalau village on Kambara is composed of three clans. They are, according to rank: Vuanikathu and Vuanitavola of the chiefs' phratry, and Katoka 621
of the land phratry. Vuanikathu, a warrior clan, has three subclans: Turanga, 618
Mbete, and Naitathini. The last active chief of Kambara, Timothe Thakau, belonged to Turanga. Tchosaia Tchiani, his son, is called chief of Kambara, but he has not been installed. He traces his pedigree to Ndaunisai (table 2, f. p. 38). Recently the Vuanikathu clan was the highest in rank on Kambara but its influence is declining. It has lost its grip on life since the power of the chief of Kambara, who belongs to the group, has been undermined by the colonial government. The chief believes his misfortune is due to sorcery.

The headman of the Mbete subclan was formerly the chief priest on Kambara. He holds the hereditary clan titles of priest (*mbete*) and of envoy to Lakemba (*mata ki Lakemba*). The Mbete pedigree extends back ten generations to Leka and Mbalavu.

In 1929 the Mbete group declared itself independent of Vuanikathu, that it might have a separate share of the village feast. It still functions as a subclan in many respects and has been so classified.

A boy of ten is the only remaining male in Naitathini. When he is old enough to work the land, he will take over the duties and property of Naitathini subclan. Meanwhile he has been adopted into the clan of his mother. It is the duty of a man from Naitathini to make a formal request to the master 226
fisherman when the village plans a communal fishing expedition. While the boy is a minor the request is made by the chief of crops.

A ceremonial name of Vuanikathu is Vatu Soro. This was the name of the foundation mound (*yavu*) of the chief's house in the old fortresses, Nakorovusa and Ndelaioloi. A group of stones south of the Ndelaioloi site is called Vatu Soro. Vuanikathu is related to the Thekena clan of Tumbou, Lakemba.

The Vuanitavola clan is composed of two subclans; Vunipipi and Matandravu. Vunipipi holds the hereditary clan title of master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*). Manoa, the great-grandfather of the present clan headman, held the title of chief of Kambara at the time when Christianity was introduced to Kambara (p. 39). Tchosaia says that Vuanitavola and Vuanikathu were formerly one clan. According to him the division occurred as follows:

> Tuitonga of Vuanikathu had two sons, Tuisamoa and Rambarawa. They quarreled and split the clan. The descendants of, Tuisamoa, the first-born, remained Vuanikathu, and the descendants of Rambarawa became Vuanitavola. This divided Mburotu, the clan garden land, into two parts: Mburotu, which belonged to the Tuisamoa branch, and Singa Yandrena, which belonged to the Rambarawa branch.

An important intermarriage between the two clans took place when Thakauniwere, the first-born of the Vuanikathu line and great-grandfather

621 of Tchosaia, married Tangatanga, the sister of Lutumailangi, who was the
618 father of Manoa.

The Matandravu subclan, according to its pedigree, is descended from Sovuthe, a younger brother of Lutumailangi and Tangatanga of Vuanitavola, who went to Komo. A few of his descendants now live in Tokalau. Matandravu formerly held the hereditary clan title of chief of Tokalau.

The clan Katoka is composed of two subclans: Katoka and Saumua. For several years each has received a share in the feast, and they are in the process of separating into two clans. The Katoka group holds the titles of herald and chief of crops to the chief of Kambara. Katoka is the oldest clan in the village and owns more land than either of the other clans.

In Tokalau the old hamlet grouping of clans has been obscured because the village has expanded in order to allow space between the houses. The original plan of the village may be seen in the oldest section, called Nakoro (the village) at the south end of Tokalau (fig. 3; table 1). Here the three clans lived in local units. According to informants, Vuanikathu occupied the south end of the old village. The clan lived in a group of houses, the foundations of which may be seen southeast of Vale Levu, the house of the chief of Kambara (fig. 3, 1). This is still the main village site of the clan. Vuanitavola clan occupied its present site north of Vuanikathu. The Katoka clan lived between Vuanitavola and the cliffs. The old ceremonial ground was centrally located between the houses of the headmen of the noble clans. Recently the village has expanded under government regulation toward the north. The new section is called Koro Vou (New Village). It is divided into three strips running from cliff to shore and occupied from south to north by Katoka, Vuanikathu, and Vuanitavola clans respectively. The new ceremonial ground is located on the border between the old and the new villages.

[423] The government house in Tokalau (fig. 3, 26) was built by the people of Kambara, Namuka, and Komo and is the property of the three islands. The church and the minister's house (fig. 3, 10) are on Vuanitavola land but
[427] are considered the property of the mission. The store and copra sheds (fig. 3, 25), also on Vuanitavola land, have been leased to a Chinese trading company.

LOMATCHI

There are three clans in the village of Lomatchi: Nakaka, Nawi, and Levuka. The people of Lomatchi know little of their pedigrees, but apparently all the clans in Lomatchi belong to the land phratry. The Nakaka clan-hamlet, situated in the center of the village, holds the highest rank.

The Nawi clan pedigree shows that Nawi was formerly composed of two subclans, Nawi and Lomatchi. The Lomatchi branch is now called Nawi. The subclan Nawi was started by Loweni and Kani, who came to Lomatchi about six generations ago from the clan Tanggalevu in Tumbou, Lakemba, and married into the Lomatchi branch. The Nawi branch has died out except for one woman, who married a Matuku man. She is now a widow and lives in the house of her son-in-law's father in Tokalau. 621 618

The clan Levuka holds the title of priest. According to tradition some Levuka people were driven out of the village and went to Onemate, a fortress site on the edge of the cliff south of Lomatchi. From Onemate they went to Undu and started the clan Tonganiuthi. Levuka holds the clan title of *tui ra* (chief of the ceremonial ground) on the island of Kambara. There are only three males left in the clan.

NGGALINGGALI

The village of Nggalinggali is inhabited by four clans: Tanggu and Naivotavota of the chiefs' phratry; Nanggara of the land phratry; and Matai Lemaki of the *lemaki* carpenters. There is a controversy concerning the genealogies of Tanggu and Naivotavota. Naivotavota traces descent to Singambongi, a great-grandson of Ndaunisai (table 2). Singambongi was chief of Wangava (p. 38). Through direct relationship with the former chiefs of Wangava, the Naivotavota clan claims proprietary rights over the entire island of Wangava. In this claim they are challenged by the Vuanikathu clan of Tokalau. However, the Naivotavota clan has taken possession of the island and exercises exclusive rights over the garden lands and controls the turtle breeding and fishing.

Tanggu traces descent through Wetasau to Ndaunisai (table 2).

Nanggara holds first rank in the land phratry on Kambara. The present clan headman is also the chief of Nggalinggali.

Matai Lemaki is a clan of hereditary carpenters (p. 34).

There is rivalry between the clans of the village for social prestige, hence it is difficult to obtain correct information concerning their relative rank. However, the division of a village feast, which is an indicaton of rank, is as follows: (1) village headman, Naivotavota clan; (2) chief of Nggalinggali, Nanggara clan; (3) Tanggu clan; (4) Matai Lemaki clan. An island feast is divided as follows: (1) Tanggu, (2) Nanggara, (3) Naivotavota, (4) Matai Lemaki.

Nggalinggali is the leading village on the east side of the island. Formerly the village had frequent wars with Tokalau for control of the island. The hostility of the two villages is expressed today in rivalry for social prestige, and the clans of the chiefs' phratry live in a constant quarrel. Naivotavota in Nggalinggali has the advantage over the other clans in the chiefs' phratry for the highest colonial government official on Kambara, the assistant district headman, belongs to this clan. The district headman ~~(*mbuli*)~~ lives on Namuka. 621 618 578

UNDU

621 618 Undu village on Kambara is composed of three clans which, according to rank are: Vakanaiau, including Saumua and Tonganiuthi subclans; Matasoata; and Valakevoro (also called Muanaithake). The village site is divided into long, narrow strips running from the cliffs to the shore. From south to north the strips are occupied by Matasoata, Tonganiuthi, Saumua, and Valakevoro. The center of the village belongs to Saumua and Tonganiuthi, subclans of the highest ranking clan, Vakanaiau. Although Vakanaiau is given one share of an island feast, and hence ranks as a clan, its two subclans often function as independent units. Saumua holds the highest rank, for it is related to the chiefs' carpenter phratry. Saumua men are hereditary carpenters. Tonganiuthi is a priest clan which originated, according to tradition, from a refugee priest of the Levuka clan in Lomatchi. Valakevoro has a confused pedigree and is claimed by both the land and the chiefs' phratries; but, since it receives the last Undu share at an island feast, it apparently ranks with the land group. Matasoata is definitely an old clan of the land group; one of the original nucleus of the island. The Nanggara clan of Nggalinggali was formerly attached to Undu which is a stronghold of the land people, who consider their forbears the origin (*undu*) of the aborigines of Kambara. The clans of the village claim possession of the island of Marambo.

NAWATCHIA

Nawatchia village on Namuka is divided into four clans. They occupy parallel strips of village land from west to east as follows: Nalele owned by Nggalitoka clan, Toyovu by the Toyovu clan, Nawatchia by the Nawatchia clan, and Mboutolu owned by the Mboutolu clan. The dwelling houses cluster about the village ceremonial ground in irregular rows, roughly parallel to the beach. The Nawatchia clan-hamlet, containing the ceremonial ground, is the oldest part of the village, and the Nawatchia clan holds highest rank. It is composed of two subclans, Nawatchia and Nasau. The subclan Nawatchia traces its pedigree to immigrants from Nggalikarua village on Matuku island and from Tonga. It was founded about five generations ago. Nasau holds the title of chief of crops (*vaka vanua*).

Mboutolu and Toyovu frequently function as one clan, called Nasoiya. Mboutolu originated from immigrants of the Valakevoro clan in Undu, who came to Namuka about five generations ago. The men of one branch of the Mboutolu group are hereditary carpenters who specialize in making gongs. This branch is related to the *lemaki* carpenters. The Toyovu group is descended from an immigrant who went to Namuka from the Matasoata clan in Undu about four generations ago. The hereditary clan title, chief of Namuka, belongs to Toyovu.

The clan Nggalitoka has three subclans: Nggalitoka, Sawa, and Taliku.

Nggalitoka was founded eight generations ago by Matakali of Saumua, the chiefs' carpenter clan in Undu. The men of Nggalitoka are hereditary carpenters. The titles master fisherman and envoy to Lakemba are held by Nggalitoka.

The inhabitants of Namuka belong to the land phratry. People of Namuka and Kambara say that Vakawaluwalu, who appears in the pedigree of Nanggara clan, Nggalinggali, is their ancestor and that Namuka was settled by people from Nggalinggali. The genealogies of the Namuka clans, however, trace back five to eight generations to immigrants mainly from Undu but also from Matuku, Tonga, and Wangava.

NASAU

Nasau village on Mothe consists of four clans: Mbutonikoro of the chiefs' phratry, and Nasau, Kamali and Vangariki of the land phratry. The old part of the village is set in crooked rows around the village ceremonial ground. Mbutonikoro, the ranking clan, occupies the center with Nasau on the east side and Vangariki and Kamali on the west. A small new section of the village, containing Mbutonikoro and Kamali houses, is situated west of the village proper and separated from it by a drainage ditch. West of the new section lie the village cemetery and the chiefs' cemetery.

About six generations ago Uluilakemba II founded the Mbutonikoro clan (p. 38). The headman of Mbutonikoro holds the hereditary clan title of chief of Mothe and functions today as the chief of the island. Mbutonikoro is composed of two subclans: Ndalithe, founded by Talemaitonga and Wanggalevu, the two oldest sons of Uluilakemba II; and Nukumbalevu, founded by Tuiono, the third son of Uluilakemba II. A third subclan of Mbutonikoro, called Muaitokavonu, has died out.

Nasau has three subclans: Sikimoko, Tchikinaira, and Nasungu. Mbaloto and Nanggali, formerly subclans of Nasau, are extinct.

Kamali is a priest clan which, according to the natives, was important in olden days. It is divided into two subclans, Valelevu and Vunikavika. It was originally a band of brothers, the sons of Ndokosambau. Valelevu consists of the descendants of Mbatchinimalungu and Linganiwere, the first two sons of Ndokosambau; and Vunikavika consists of the descendants of Usaia, the third son. The split occurred in pre-Christian times. The Valelevu subclan holds the clan titles of priest, chief's administrator, and herald. The clan headman installs the chief of Mothe.

Vangariki clan formerly contained two subclans: Mbuasa and Vangarikiwai. The latter can be traced to the Matasoata clan in Undu. Vangarikiwai is extinct, and there is only one household on Mbuasa.

KOROTOLU

62 618

Korotolu village on Mothe has two clans, Vanganduku (also called Narothake) and Nggali, both of the land phratry. Vanganduku contains two subclans, Muanivanua and Vanganduku. Nggali has two subclans, Ndakuituvana and Manukuira. Ndakuituvana is the older and holds the titles of chief of crops, master fisherman, and envoy to Lakemba. Manukuira was founded four generations ago by Waisake (of Savalo clan, Tovu, Totoya) who married a Ndakuituvana woman.

MUANAITHAKE

Muanaithake village on Fulanga is composed of four clans: Vunikoro, Rasea and Nasava of the land phratry and Vandravandra of the sea people. The natives of all clans except Vunikoro remember only five generations of their pedigrees, which are all traced to ancestors born on the island. The main subclan of Vunikoro is descended from two brothers, Tukailangi and Takaimbatchi, the sons of Rorovakambelo of the clan Ndreketi, Nasangalau village, Lakemba. The mother of these brothers was Kauyawa from the Toka clan, Naivindamu, Fulanga. Tukailangi was the first-born, and his direct descendant holds the title of chief of Fulanga. Vunikoro and Rasea (formerly called Naiwasewase) were, until a few years ago, two subclans of the Vunikoro clan, a priest clan. Today the clan Rasea has two subclans, Naiwasewase and Vunimbosua. Rasea holds the hereditary title of envoy to Lakemba.

The clan Nasava has two subclans, Nasavalevu and Sau (also called Nasavailoma). These two were formerly separate clans. Nasavalevu is related to Nasangalau, Lakemba, and to the chiefs' carpenter group. The subclan Sau is related to Thekena clan, Lakemba. It holds the title of chief of the ceremonial ground. Before the time of Vunikoro, Nasava clan and Muanaira village had their own chief. He belonged to the Nggilo clan of Muanaira.

The clan Vandravandra formerly had three subclans: Vandravandra, Sokina, and Nainggawali. Sokina and Nainggawali each have but one remaining male representative. The title of Vandravandra is Tui Naro, which is the title held by the clan headman. He also holds the titles of herald and master fisherman. Nasava and Vandravandra own more land than either Vunikoro or Rasea.

MUANAIRA

There are four clans in Muanaira village: Nggilo, Tawalia, Emba and Embalailai. The houses of the Nggilo clan, which ranks highest in the land group on Fulanga, face the ceremonial ground. Tawalia occupies the southwest, Emba the northeast, and Embalailai the northwest corner of the village. The people of Muanaira belong to the land phratry and know little of their pedigrees.

Nggilo was formerly composed of three subclans: Nggilo, Wairoa, and 621
Koro. Nggilo and Koro are practically extinct. The title of chief of Muanaira
is held by either Nggilo or Wairoa. Emba is divided into three subclans, 618
descendants of three brothers. The subclans are named Embalevu, Nararaithake, and Nararaira. Embalailai formerly had two subclans, Embalailai and Nalovoloa. The latter is extinct.

NAIVINDAMU

The hamlet grouping of clans is clearly seen in the ground plan of the village of Naivindamu. The two clans of the village form local units, Lingau occupying the northeast part and Toka the southwest. Lingau has two subclans, Vunituitui and Lingau. Vunituitui on the northeast side of the Lingau clan-hamlet holds the hereditary clan title of priest. Lingau on the southwest side holds the clan title of chief's administrator. Toka also has two subclans, Nawi in the center of the clan site, and Toka on either side of Nawi. It holds no titles. The people of Naivindamu belong to the land phratry.

NAITHULAIANGA

The land of Naithulaianga village on Ongea is divided into five parallel strips owned by the four village clans as follows: Tumbesara—with two strips, one for each of its subclans, Tumbesara and Nggaralevu—Mata, Tawalo, and Nggalileka. Both Tawalo and Nggalileka would have died out in the last generation had not the only surviving members, one female in each clan, carried on the line. Part of the land of these two clans is used by the Tumbesara clan, which stands in the *vasu* (p. 63) relationship to both. Some of the land is used as the village ceremonial ground.

The natives of Ongea remember only four or five generations of their pedigrees, which are all traced to ancestors born on the island. Mata and Nggalileka belong to the land phratry. Mata is reputed to be the oldest clan on the island. It holds the title of chief of crops. Nggalileka holds the titles of chief's administrator and envoy to Lakemba. Tawalo belongs to the sea people and holds the clan titles of master fisherman and chief of the ceremonial ground. To Tumbesara belongs the title of chief of Ongea, and clan members say they belong to the chiefs' phratry; but this affiliation cannot be proved by the clan pedigree.

RANK

The social organization of Lau is keyed to a deep-rooted and elaborate 554.
system of rank. Not only each phratry, clan, subclan, family and individual, but also each village and chiefdom holds a definite rank in the scheme. The historic division of society into phratries forms the broad basis for the ranking system. The land phratry constitutes the lower class of society while the other four phratries constitute the upper class, the chiefs' phratry ranking highest.

CLAN TITLES

554 618 The rank of a clan is determined not only by its phratry affiliation, but also by the hereditary clan titles (pp. 48-53) held by its clan headman (*turanga ni matanggali*). Although the highest clan titles are held by the clans belonging to the upper class, some titles belonging to the lower class (such as the herald, *mata ni vanua*, to the high chief) take precedence over some noble titles. However, the clans in each class are ranked and the sum of hereditary prestige held by those in the upper class is much higher than that held by the lower class.

Theoretically the headman of the highest ranking clan is the high chief of Lau and to him all islands pay tribute. The chief is assisted by officials who hold graded hereditary clan titles. Chiefs or minor chiefdoms are headmen of ranking island clans. They receive tribute from the villages of their petty domains. They, in turn, have graded assistants.

HIGH CHIEF

[554] 643 The title of highest rank in Lau is the Roko Sau, chief of Naiau. He is the chief of Lakemba and Naiau islands, and he is the high chief of Lau to whom all the islands in the chiefdom pay tribute. The title of chief of Lakemba, which he should logically hold also, exists in Fiji only as the ceremonial title of a forefather god. According to Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 219), the gods, Tokairambe and Tui Lakemba Randinandina, are the sons of Ndengei who ranks supreme among the gods. The title of Tui Lakepa (Lakemba) is found in Tonga. (See also Gifford, 9, p. 34 and Hocart, 13, p. 44.)

The title of Roko Sau Tui Naiau is held by either one of two subclans, Matailakemba or Vatuwangga of Vuanirewa clan. Succession depends on the rank of both parents, on seniority, and on personal ability. It was formerly determined by a council of clan elders. Hocart (15, p. 51) writes:

> . . . It appears that several conflicting principles govern the succession. First, the general custom of passing from elder to younger brother till that generation is extinct, then taking the next generation in the same order. Second, the tendency to alternate between two houses, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, descended from two brothers, to the exclusion of two lines that were defeated in civil wars. Third, the tendency to recognize superior nobility of the senior branch. The result is to leave the door open to considerations of character, and to violent usurpation.

Colonial government officials now take part with the clan elders in appointing the high chief.

[595] Formerly the high chief had one principal wife, a woman of high rank chosen either from Lau or from one of the other chiefdoms in Fiji, and several secondary wives (*i solonga*), women of lower rank, from Lakemba or the outlying islands. The relative rank of the offspring of the chief depended upon the rank of the mother. Children of the principal wife were called *turanga*, those of the other wives *i kaso*. Now the high chief has but one wife.

The chief is surrounded by a court of retainers (*tamata ni turanga*), 643
which include his herald, jester (*tamata ni lasa* or *ndauveilakalasai*), go-between
in courtship (*ramuaoli*), numerous relatives, and servants. There are 644
also envoys for each island or island group in the chiefdom who are called
mata ki Kambara, mata ki Mothe, and so forth.

The high chief and his family live in a compound facing the ceremonial 643
ground in the chief's village of Tumbou, Lakemba. The chief's houses are
large and set upon high mounds, a symbol of rank. The chief's houses, his
canoes and kava bowls are decorated with cowry (*mbuli*) shells, an emblem
of rank. Formerly a strip of barkcloth (*tawake*) attached like a flag to the
canoe mast, served as an emblem of chieftainship.

The high chief has heavy responsibilities in the maintenance of his clan obligations and ceremonial court life. He has a large number of dependents including many of his relatives and retainers, whom he must feed. Because of the soliciting and *vasu* systems (pp. 62-64, 207-208) he is constantly approached for gifts or loans.

The chief and his court are maintained by a system of tribute collected from 643
the islands of his realm. Much of the tribute is presented at Lakemba by
representatives from each island in the form of ceremonial gifts at the 651
marriage, installation, and death of the chief or his near relatives. Collections
are made by representatives of the chief or by his sister's son (*vasu*), as when
Lakemba takes part in a large ceremonial exchange with one of the other
chiefdoms such as Mbau or Rewa.

The high chief is sacred. As the shrine of ancestor gods of highest rank 643
he has more mana than anyone else in his chiefdom. An elaborate system of
tabus protects him. His head, the center of mana, is the most sacred part of 778
his person. It may not be touched, nor may his comb and headrest be used by 784
anyone else. (See 27, vol. 1, p. 25.) Only a man of high rank is allowed to
wear a turban (*faufau*) in the village. The chief's wearing apparel and 292
sleeping mats are tabu. Only a chief may wear the long streamers of barkcloth
(*tchini puli*) as part of his ceremonial, the chest band (*wambale*), or the
breast plate inlaid with mother-of-pearl (*thiva vonovono*). Only a member of
the chief's family is allowed to wear a hair ornament of feathers (*tekiteki*).
The royal staff (*matanakilangi*), presented to the high chief at his installation,
is also an emblem of royalty (27, vol. 1, p. 25).

Elaborate rites mark the installation, marriage, and death of a chief. 643
Ceremonies also mark his reception on outlying islands, the payment of tribute,
building and launching of a chief's canoe, building of a chief's house, and
life crises of members of the chief's immediate family. Many of these ceremonies
once involved human sacrifice.

For further information concerning the high chief and his court see Hocart (15, pp. 50-58).

THE ISLAND CHIEF

622 554 Each island has a chief (*tui*) who holds a definite interisland rank, indicated, as is the rank of the island, by the order of presentation of shares at an interisland feast.

The chief of Kambara formerly held highest rank among the island chiefs. He received tribute not only from Kambara, but from Wangava, Namuka, and Komo. Although the chief of Kambara is still respected and feared, he has lost some of his former prerogatives. The first fruits are presented jointly to him and to the village headman by Tokalau only.

The chief of Mothe is of high rank because of his relationship with Vuanirewa, Tumbou (p. 38). He still receives regular, annual tribute of first fruits from all the clans on Mothe.

The chief of Fulanga of Vunikoro clan and the chief of Ongea of Tumbesara clan hold a lower interisland rank. Each, however, receives an annual offering of first fruits from the clans on his island.

The headman of Toyovu subclan of Nasoiya clan on Namuka has recently been given the newly created title of chief of Namuka. No offering of first fruits is presented to him because, according to the natives, there is plenty of food on Namuka, and the tabu on first fruits, which conserves the supply by preventing the inhabitants from eating green fruit, is not necessary.

622 624 The island chiefs perform functions similar to the high chief but on a descending scale, depending on their rank. They are sacred repositories of powerful clan mana inherited from strong ancestral forefathers. They are highly respected and are protected by tabus and etiquette. They have their assistants: a herald, a master fisherman, a chief of crops, or chief's administrator, a master carpenter, an envoy to Lakemba, and a chief of the ceremonial ground. They collect tribute from the villages within their domains in the form of first fruits, feasts, and property on important ceremonial occasions, such as the chief's installation, marriage, death, and canoe and house building.

ASSISTANTS TO THE CHIEF

624 There are several assistants to the chief who rank below the island chief but whose relationship to one another is not clearly defined today. These are the chief's assistants, who have charge of the administration of his chiefdom. Precedence among them differs according to island. The functions of these officers are not rigidly fixed. Seniority and personal skill often help to determine their duties.

The herald (*mata ni vanua*), a hereditary title held by a clan in the land phratry, is the chief's first assistant. He acts as the chief's spokesman and master of ceremonies and receives and presents gifts on behalf of the chief. The title of herald occurs on the islands of Kambara, Namuka, and Fulanga. It is absent on Mothe and Ongea where the duties of the herald are performed by the *takala* which I have called chief's administrator. He is also of the land 624 group. Informants say that the title of herald came with the Tongans, while that of the *takala* is old. The *takala* assists in the presentation and division of the tribute of first fruits. The title of *takala* is absent on Kambara and Namuka, but the titles of *takala* and herald are both found on Fulanga.

The title of *vaka vanua* (*vaka*), which I have called chief of crops, is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land phratry. The chief of crops has charge of ceremonial presentations to the chief. These are usually in the form of feasts. He organizes all the large island feasts, informs each village of the amount of food it must contribute and prepare, and on the day of the feast receives and inspects the share of each village on the ceremonial ground of the chief's village. He divides the feast into two parts: the chief's share (*mangitchi ni vanua*), and the people's share (*lutu ni mangitchi*); and he presents the chief's share to the chief. If the high chief from Lakemba or his representative is present, the envoy to Lakemba makes the ceremonial presentation. The chief of crops is custodian of the fruits of the land. He has charge of the resources of the island for the offering of first fruits, garden produce, and fish, which is made to the chief of the island at the time of the ripening of each tribute crop or at the tribute fish season. It is his duty to 624 place and remove the tabu on fruits, to arrange for their collection, and with the help of the chief's administrator to make the presentation to the chief. 784 If pigs are needed by the chief he hangs a piece of charred wood from the earth oven outside the door of the chief's house. Then he calls, "Tambu puaka, yei!" (Tabu pigs, yei!) No pigs may be killed until the chief of crops sets a day for the presentation of pigs to the chief. The tabu conserves the food supply, since it prevents the crop from being eaten before it has reached maturity and its highest food value. On islands where food is scarce, such a check is important.

On some islands the duties of the chief of crops are performed by the 624 chief's administrator and conversely. For instance, on Mothe the chief of crops has charge of the fruit crops on the south side of the island, whereas the chief's administrator has charge on the north. The chief's administrator makes the ceremonial presentation to the chief. On Mothe the chief of crops is the chief's assistant and spokesman. At times the duties of the chief of crops and chief's administrator overlap. On Fulanga both assist the master fisherman in communal net fishing. Either the chief of crops or the chief's administrator may cast the first spear. As a rule the younger of the two men gives precedence to the older.

The professional title of master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*) is held by a 624 clan on each island. The master fisherman is in charge of the communal 226 fishing and turtle fishing and is responsible for the protection of the fishing grounds. When fish are desired for a feast, permission for the communal

624 226 fishing must be obtained from the master fisherman. The request is accompanied by the ceremonial presentation of kava and is made by representatives from one or more specific clans. The master fisherman receives part of the catch, usually the two largest fish, unless these are tribute fish which must be presented to the chief. The wife or the daughter of the master fisherman leads women's communal fishing expeditions. In recent years the authority of the master fisherman has been breaking down. There is less organized fishing than there was in the past.

624 335 The professional title of carpenter (*matai*) is held by the headmen of hereditary carpenter clans belonging to either the chief's carpenters or the *lemaki* carpenters.

The following is a tale told of the *lemaki* carpenters:

> The son of the first Lemaki in Lau accompanied Niumataiwalu, the chief of Lakemba, to Ono. One day the people of Ono decided to kill the chief. Lemaki went fishing with the throw net (*tuka*) reputed to have been introduced into Lau by Lemaki. He had a small adz with him for killing large fish. He saw the people running after the chief, so he fought his way to the chief and tried to protect him. The Ono people killed the son of Lemaki and afterward they killed Niumataiwalu. To compensate for this deed the *lemaki* carpenter group was given special privileges and a piece of land called Lekutu (Bush) near Tumbou, Lakemba.

The headman of the *lemaki* carpenter clan does not use the special chiefly vocabulary (p. 64) or the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief. He may intercede (*sorovakina*) with the chief on behalf of a village or an individual, and he may eat food and drink kava in the presence of the chief.

624 793 Each island chief has a priest. Formerly, as mediator for the clan and its ancestral forefathers and as a seer, the priest served to validate and sanctify the power of the chief. The priest was highly respected and feared. He received a large share of the first fruit offerings, which were presented to the ancestor god (*kalou vu*). The headman of a priest clan usually holds the title of *mbete*. This is largely honorary today, except on Mothe where the priest installs the chief.

624 644 [428 184] The *mata ki Lakemba* (face toward Lakemba, envoy to Lakemba) is a hereditary clan title found in every island group. He is the intermedial agent for the island group and the high chief at Lakemba. His duties are to deliver and present tribute to the high chief and to receive him or his representatives when they visit the island. In the latter capacity he is the leader of the reception and presentation ceremonies. The title descends from a man to his younger brother or to his son—except on Mothe, where it is hereditary in the Nggali clan—and the bearer is chosen by the clan elders.

622 Some villages have a village chief. The chief of Nggalinggali is chosen from either Nanggara or Naivotavota clan. The present chief of Nggalinggali is from Nanggara. The title of chief of Tokalau was, until recently, held by the Matandravu subclan of the Vuanitavola clan. Tareasi Thiva was the last

chief of Tokalau. Undu village has a chief called Tui Undu. He is from the Valakevoro clan and receives a village offering of first fruits. The village of Muanaira has a chief from the Nggilo clan. 622

The title of chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui ra* or *tui rara*) is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land group. Presentations of food to the chief and subsequent distributions to the people take place on the ceremonial ground. The duty of the chief of the ceremonial ground is to divide the food so that each clan receives its share, according to rank and size. 624

Clan titles, now obsolete, but formerly found on Kambara are chief headman (*sau turanga*), held by the Nanggara clan headman; master of war (*mbatchi ndau ni valu*), held by Matasoata or Valakevoro clans, Undu; food master (*mbatchi ni kakana*) held by Nawi of Lomatchi. 618

RANK WITHIN THE CLAN

Rank within the clan is regulated by the principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage. The direct descendant of the first-born (*ulu matua*) son of the originator of the clan holds the highest rank within the clan, and of subclans which comprise the clan his takes precedence by seniority. The elder of either sex takes precedence over the younger throughout the lineage in each generation. Rank within the clan is discussed on pages 58-64. 618 554

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP

MARRIAGE

Formerly polygyny was practiced by high ranking men who could afford several wives, especially by the chiefs. Monogamy, however, was the rule among people of lower rank. Polyandry was unknown. Today, as a result of missionary influence, Lauan society is monogamous. 595 593 797

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE

A man preferably marries his *watchi* (cross cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter, real or classificatory), but not all marriages fall within the preferred type. Formerly it was not uncommon for a chief to take two sisters as wives or for a man to marry the sister of his deceased wife. It is not rare for a man to marry his brother's widow. 582

Clan exogamy is the rule and a study of interclan marriage based on clan pedigrees shows that there is a tendency for certain clans to intermarry. This tendency is strongest on Ongea and Fulanga and weakest on Kambara and Mothe. It is probable that cross-cousin marriage is also more frequently practiced on the two isolated southern islands of Ongea and Fulanga and least on Kambara and Mothe. The genealogies from the five islands visited are not sufficient to furnish conclusive data on this point. 582 618

582 618 Marriage between the subclans within a clan are found in the pedigrees. Of the total number of marriages recorded for any one clan, however, the number of such clan endogamous marriages is usually less than 25 percent. It is possible that in the past no clan endogamous marriages occurred, but some marriages, as recorded in the pedigrees, appear to be endogamous because of the recent fusion of two clans.

582 134 A study of island inbreeding based on clan pedigrees shows a positive correlation between inbreeding and infertility of the soil. The study shows that the highest percentage of intra-island marriages occurs on Fulanga, next highest on Ongea, then Kambara, Mothe, and Namuka. On the infertile southern islands, a lower percentage of individuals marry spouses from other islands than on the more fertile northern ones.

DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

591 611 Patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent are the rule in Lau, but there are exceptions. A man may establish residence and affiliation with his wife's clan, for example, to prevent the extinction of a clan when the only living members are female. On Ongea the last surviving member of the Nggalileka clan, a woman, married Vesa of the Mata clan. Vesa and his family occupy the only house on the Nggalileka village land and control the clan's garden land. His children belong to Nggalileka, his wife's clan, but Vesa still belongs theoretically to Mata although he functions as the headman of Nggalileka.

Matrilocal residence and frequently matrilineal descent are used also to improve a man's economic status. Occasionally a man moves in with his wife's clan when it offers the young couple richer garden land than could be obtained from his own clan. For instance, Kolinio, a younger brother in the Vuanitavola clan, Tokalau, married Thiri of the Nakaka clan, Lomatchi. The Nakaka clan has a relatively large amount of the best garden land on Kambara, and the clan is rather small. Kolinio moved to Lomatchi where he used the garden lands of his wife's clan. Kolinio's children who are still young are considered members of the Vuanitavola clan in Tokalau, although in Lomatchi they function in the clan of their mother. Matrilocal residence is more common [134] on fertile than on infertile islands, for there is a tendency for married couples who come from two different islands to establish residence on the more fertile island of the two.

Descent is in general correlated with residence. A man belongs to his father's clan unless his father has established his residence with and becomes a functional part of the clan of the man's mother. In this case the man usually functions with the clan of his mother until his marriage. Thereafter, if he returns with his wife to his father's clan and uses the clan lands, he and his children are considered members of his father's clan. If, on the other hand, he takes his wife to live with the clan of his mother he and his children are

usually considered members of his mother's clan. As a rule a woman belongs 591
to the clan of her father although after marriage she lives and functions with 611
her husband's clan.

ADOPTION

Widows (*ndawai*), orphans (*luve ni yalo,* literally child of the ghost), and 597
illegitimate children (*luve ni sala,* literally child of the path) are transferred
from one clan to another by means of the adoption (*lakovi*) ceremony, a form 848
of affinal exchange. 768

A widow usually returns to her own people. When her husband dies, her brother or a ranking member of her clan presents a whale's tooth or other property, by means of the usual presentation ceremony, to the clan of her husband with the request that the woman be allowed to return to her clan. This is called *lakovi.* If the property is accepted the widow is free to return. She usually takes at least some of her children with her. These children must also be formally transferred from the clan of their father to that of their mother, by means of the adoption ceremony. If both of a child's parents die, his mother's clan may adopt the child. Frequently, however, the father's clan retains the boys. A child adopted into his mother's clan still belongs theoretically to his father's clan, although he functions with that of his mother, for the adoption ceremony does not affect a man's clan membership, which is fixed by the rule of descent. It marks the transfer of an individual from one clan to another, and the clan losing a member is compensated for its loss by gifts of property from the clan receiving a member.

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

Children born out of wedlock are numerous in Lau. According to the 597
natives, illegitimate children formerly had a definite status in the community
and were not considered undesirable. They were usually reared in the clan 848
of their mother under the guardianship of the maternal grandfather. Although theoretically they belonged to the clan of their father, they had to be formally adopted into it by means of the adoption ceremony in order to become active members. A child then enjoyed all the rights of full membership in his father's clan. He inherited a share in the clan lands, as did the legitimate sons, and exercised the rights of a *vasu* to his mother's people.

Since the coming of the missionaries, the attitude toward illegitimate chil- 848
dren has changed. A child born out of wedlock is not allowed to be baptized
in the mission church. He may be baptized, however, in the house where the [797]
mother lives. An unmarried, pregnant woman becomes the subject of village gossip, and members of the community who have been strongly influenced in their behavior patterns by the mission show their disapproval by ignoring the birth feast, to which the whole village is invited. An illegitimate child is still
considered a member of his father's clan, but today he is not accepted to full [428]
membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit
clan land.

848 membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit clan land. He is, however, given the use of a piece of land belonging to the clan with which he is associated. Actually, the illegitimate child often remains with his mother's people.

[554] The greatest prejudice is against half-caste bastards, called *kai loma* (people-in-between). If their fathers are European they are said to have no clan at all and therefore lack membership and rank in the community.

Relationship Terms

601 [554 428] The principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage regulate the rank of the individual within the clan. Older siblings and their descendants outrank young ones. The oldest son and his descendants hold the highest rank and inherit the clan titles. The first-born, male or female, is called the old head (*ulu matua*) and is honored by special pregnancy, birth, and initiation ceremonies.

601 561 Seniority is expressed in the kinship system by means of terms with age significance. For instance, a line is drawn between the older and the younger brothers of a man's real father (*tama*). His father's older brothers are designated by the term *tama levu* (big father), his younger brothers by the term *tama lailai* (small father). A man's older brothers and the sons of his *tama levu* are designated by the term *tuaka*; his younger brothers and the sons of his *tama lailai*, by the term *tachi*. A corresponding distinction is made in regard to the sisters of a man's mother and their sons. These differentiations reflect social attitudes expressed in behavior patterns, by which younger siblings and their descendants honor older siblings and their descendants.

It should be noted, however, that the terms with age significance are alternates for more comprehensive terms without age significance. For instance, the term *tama* (father) includes the father's brothers and the term *tachi* includes a man's brothers and male parallel cousins. In other words, there is a complete set of kinship terms without those which specify relative age. It is probable, therefore, that the age designating terms and modifiers and the principle of rank they reflect have been incorporated into a system without age and rank significance.

601 The Lauan kinship system is of the classificatory type. It is based on cross-cousin marriage. Kinship terms are not used as they are written in the following list, but are always followed by a possessive suffix which has been indicated by a hyphen. For example, the word *tama* (father) is never used without a possessive suffix as *tamanggu* (my father), or *tamana* (his father). Terms of address, however, are used without a possessive suffix. The same kinship term is used whether the speaker is male or female unless indicated by ms (male speaking) or fs (female speaking).

1. Tama-: Father, father's brother, father's father's brother's son, father's father's sister's son, spouse's mother's brother, and the husbands of all women designated by *tchina-* (2). The term *tama- levu* (big father) is used to specify the

father's older brother and the husband of *tchina- levu* (2). The term *tama-lailai* (little father) is used to specify the father's younger brother and the husband of *tchina- lailai* (2).

2. Tchina-: Mother, mother's sister, mother's father's brother's daughter, mother's father's sister's daughter, spouse's father's sister, and the wives of all men designated by *tama-* (1). The term *tchina- levu* (big mother) is used to specify the mother's older sister and the wife of *tama- levu* (1). The term *tchina-lailai* (little mother) is used to specify the mother's younger sister and the wife of *tama- lailai* (1).
3. Tuaka-: The converse of *tachi-* (4). (ms) Elder brother and the son of *tama-levu* (1). Also the term is occasionally used to designate the elder sister. (fs) Elder sister and the daughter of *tama- levu*.
4. Tachi-: Generic term for siblings (brothers and sisters) and parallel cousins. Specifically it is the converse of *tuaka-* (3). (ms) Younger brother and the son of *tama- levu* (1). (fs) Younger sister and the daughter of *tchina-lailai* (2.)
5. Weka-: A reciprocal term. (ms) Sister, female parallel cousin including the daughter of *tama-* (1) and *tchina-* (2), and the wife of *tavale-* (9). (fs) Brother, male parallel cousin including the son of *tama-* (1) and *tchina-* (2), and the husband of *ndauve-* (10).
6. Karua: A reciprocal term of address usually used without a possessive suffix. It is a term denoting respect as well as kinship. (ms) Male parallel cousin, including the son of *tama-* (1) and *tchina-* (2), and the husband of *watchi-* (7), less frequently, brother. (fs) Female parallel cousin including the daughter of *tama-* (1) and *tchina-* (2), and the wife of *watchi-* (7); less frequently, sister.
7. Watchi-: A reciprocal term for spouse. (ms) Female cross cousin, hence the father's sister's daughter, mother's brother's daughter, father's father's sister's daughter's daughter, mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter. (fs) Male cross cousin, hence the father's sister's son, mother's brother's son, father's father's sister's daughter's son, the mother's mother's brother's daughter's son. The first spouse is the *matai ni watchi-*.
8. Ndavola-: A reciprocal term used as an alternate for *watchi-* (7). *Ndavola-* is considered a more polite form of address than *watchi-*. *Ndavola-* is a Mbauan term, whereas *watchi-* is Lauan.
9. Tavale: A reciprocal term used only by males to refer to males. (ms.) Male cross cousin, hence the father's sister's son, mother's brother's son, husband of *watchi-* (7).
10. Ndauve-: A reciprocal term corresponding to *tavale-* (9), used only by females to refer to females. (fs) Female cross cousin, hence the wife of *watchi-* (7).
11. Vungo-: A reciprocal term. Mother's brother, father's sister, mother-in-law, father-in-law, child of *weka-* (5), spouse of *luve-* (12). (ms) Child of *tavale-* (9). (fs) Child of *ndauve-* (10).
12. Luve-: Speaker's child, child of *watchi-* (7), child of *karua* (6). The converse of *tama-* (1) and *tchina-* (2). (*Ngone* is the generic name for child.)
13. Tuka-: Grandfather, any male ancestor. *Tuka- levu* (big grandfather) is used to designate the grandfather's older brother; *tuka- lailai* (little grandfather) to designate his younger brother. Great-grandfather is designated as *tuka-vakarua* (second grandfather), great-great-grandfather as *tuka- vakatolu* (third grandfather).
14. Tumbu-: Grandmother, any female ancestor. *Tumbu- levu* (big grandmother) is used to designate the grandmother's older sister and the wife of the *tuka-levu*; *tumbu- lailai* (little grandmother) to designate her younger sister and the wife of *tuka- lailai*. Great grandmother is designated as *tumbu- vakarua* (second grandmother), etc.

601 15. **Makumbu-**: Grandchild. The converse of *tuka-* (13) and *tumbu-* (14). Great grandchild is designated as *makumbu- vakarua* (second grandchild), etc. Step-relatives are designated by the term *vakathambethambe*, i.e., *tama- vakathambethambe* (step-father); *tchina- vakathambethambe* (step-mother).

184 Informants say that kinship terms in southern Lau, in the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group differ slightly. It is reported that the Tongan system of making no distinction between parallel and cross cousins of opposite sexes is found on Vanua Mbalavu.

BEHAVIOR BETWEEN RELATIVES

CROSS COUSINS

605 *Veiwatchini* is a collective term for cross cousins of opposite sexes. All of a man's female cross cousins and all of a woman's male cross cousins are preferred mates designated by the term *watchi*. The term for spouse is also *watchi*. The Mbauan term, *ndavola*, is an alternate term for a cross cousin of the opposite sex. It is used in southern Lau to show respect.

605 A familiar relationship exists between *veiwatchini*. There are no tabus
between them. They address one another by name and use the familiar second
521 person singular pronoun, *ko iko*. They talk freely with one another, which
522 means that they joke with one another about sex, for practically all conversation between non-tabu members of opposite sexes and much of the conversation between non-tabu members of the same sex, centers around sex. Jokes usually consist of obscene remarks. Such remarks are tabu between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

605 There is no tabu on sexual intercourse between cross cousins, and, in
spite of the ideals of premarital chastity for girls and of strict monogamy,
836 there is considerable freedom between classificatory cross cousins both before
837 and after marriage. In order to avoid gossip and marital jealousy, an affair with a cross cousin is kept secret. One does not often hear of sexual intercourse between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

543 Behavior patterns between a man and his wife do not differ greatly from
those between cross cousins of opposite sexes. However, occasionally when
837 a man is angry he beats his wife, but he does not beat a female cross cousin who is not his wife. Excessive cruelty toward one's spouse is rare and is talked about in the village. The people of Tokalau talked about a man whom they said had injured his wife's back by beating her. If a man scolds or beats his wife repeatedly she will run to her father's house. Then the people will talk about the husband. If he wants her back he presents a whale's tooth or other property to her relatives. Domestic quarrels and separations are not common. The discovery of adultery on the part of one's spouse usually causes only temporary friction. Fidelity to one's spouse is not really expected.

The husband is the head of the household and his wife obeys him. Unless 593
a person of higher rank is present, he is served first at meals and receives 264
the best portions of food. A wife often uses the polite term *turanga* (head- 601
man) in referring to her husband or her husband's older brother. 576

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND PARALLEL COUSINS

Veiwekani is the collective term for brothers and sisters, and parallel 593
cousins of opposite sexes. In contrast to the freedom between cross cousins, 605
a strict avoidance exists between *veiwekani*. They are *veitambui* (tabu). On Kambara intercourse of any sort is tabu between them. They avoid meeting. A man does not enter a house where his sister is except in case of necessity. He does not look at her, but lowers his eyes. If necessary he communicates with her through a third person. A woman is permitted to cook food for her brother, and a man may help to prepare the earth oven in which food for his sister is steamed. Brothers and sisters eat the evening meal with the rest of the household in the same kitchen, but they may not eat from the same plate, nor may one eat what the other has left. They are not allowed to wear each other's kilts, and a woman may not wash her brother's clothes. A man may use mats his sister has made.

Up to the age of seven or eight brother and sister sleep in the same house, [513]
but then avoidance begins and the brother moves into a men's house belonging to his clan or into the house of a relative, while his sister usually remains in the house of the parents. After a boy has been circumcised the tabus are strictly enforced.

A man's father's older brother's daughter is the most tabu and the most respected of all his *weka*. The tabu is usually more strict between first parallel cousins than between brother and sister.

The brother-sister tabu is still upheld on Kambara, although not so strictly 593
as in the past. Today *veiwekani* sometimes converse secretly, but to do so is [558]
considered foolish (*lialia*) because the couple loses face in the village. A case of evasion of the brother-sister tabu came to my attention in Tokalau.

> A young man, aged 22, of Mbete subclan of the Vuanikathu clan had just started to build a house of his own although he had been married almost two years. He slept with his wife and child in the crowded house of his parents. Four of his sisters—aged 20, 19, 18, and 14—slept in the same house, and he talked to them. His sisters never started a conversation with him, but they answered him. Several times, when the brother and sisters were alone, the questions and answers developed into a conversation. His behavior was criticised but he was somewhat excused because he was considered slightly deficient mentally, for otherwise he would not behave so.

There is some interisland variation in the brother-sister tabu. On Fulanga 593
it is not so strict as on Kambara. Sexual intercourse, sleeping in the same 184
house, and eating off the same plate are tabu, but eating together is allowed and a girl may eat the food left by a younger brother or by a junior male

593 184 cousin (that is by a male cousin, one of whose parents is a younger sibling of one of her parents). A girl may wash her brother's kilts. Brother and sister may sit in the same house, but when his sister is present a man "talks through a flower", that is, he avoids the usual obscene banter. If a man in the group starts to joke the brother gets up and walks out of the house. If a woman starts to joke the sister leaves immediately. Brother and sister may not take a walk together. They may take a trip on the same canoe, but if there is joking they do not participate. They are ashamed (*mandua*) and lower their eyes, and the girl moves to the other end of the canoe. Brother and sister may talk together but they do so in the polite (*vakarokoroko*) manner. They may address each other by personal name. In general the girl shows greater respect for the boy than he does for her. It is difficult (*ndrendre*) for her to speak to him. Some boys use the familiar second person singular, ***ko iko***, to their sisters, but girls always use the formal second person plural, ***kemundrau***.

There are also differences in the observation of the tabu by individuals on the same island. On Fulanga one man calls his real sister by her name but not his female parallel cousin. Some individuals "follow the Tongan way" and converse with less restraint.

While in Lau, I heard of only one infringement of the brother-sister incest [835 684] tabu. This occurred on Moala, according to informants. The man and the woman were imprisoned by the colonial government. Informants agree that in olden days the offenders would have been exiled from the island.

[832] Natives admit their greatest sexual desires to be centered on their tabu sisters and parallel cousins, and they think it is for this reason that the tabu exists. There is no doubt that the tabu heightens sexual interest.

593 605 *Veitathini* is the collective term for brothers, sisters, and parallel cousins. Strict rules of precedence based on seniority are observed between *veitathini*. A man ranks below his elder brother and the son of his father's elder brother. To these relatives he shows respect and deference. He may address them by their personal names but he must use the formal second person plural (***kemundrau***) and speak in the ceremonial manner. Greatest respect is shown to the oldest brother, who is called "first eater" (***kana i manda***). A younger brother is called "eater who follows" (***kana i muri***). Formerly the elder brother ate before the younger brother but today brothers may eat together. The oldest brother sits in a place of honor near the father and receives his food before his brothers. Next to the oldest sits the second brother, then the third, and so on. Younger brothers must clap with palms cupped (*thombo*) to show respect when the oldest finishes drinking kava or eating at a feast. A younger brother is not allowed to eat food left by his elder brother. A younger brother runs errands and secures a brand to light his elder brother's tobacco. After the younger brother has been circumcised it is his duty to prepare food and kava

for his elder brother. The younger brother is not allowed to take his elder 593
brother's property without permission, or to touch his head. He cannot 605
smoke the cigarette of his elder brother if it has been carried behind his ear according to the local custom.

Elder sisters and daughters of elder sisters of the mother outrank younger sisters.

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

Veitamani is the collective term for father and child. A child respects and 593
obeys his father and his father's brothers and he honors his *tama levu* most. 601
He treats these relatives in the ceremonial fashion. On Kambara, a high ranking father and his elder brother are called sir (*ratu*) by the children. Another polite form of address is *tumbutumbu* (ancestor) preceded by a possessive pronoun. On Fulanga the father is addressed by the kinship term *tama*, the father's older brother by *tama levu*. It is forbidden to address the father by the familiar second person singular, *ko iko*. Young children often call their father *tata*. The father or the senior paternal uncle sits in the place of honor at the evening meal or at a feast. He receives the first portion of food. The children may eat with him but they may not eat the food he leaves. Father and children may sit and talk together. Children may use their father's or paternal uncle's property without asking, with the exception of his clothes, mats, pillow, or comb.

Hatred between father and grown son (expressed by the term *thathaveitamani*) is said to be usual and to be based on jealousy. The sons say, "My 593
father does not like me because I am still young and strong", or "My father does not like me because the women like me better than they like him. He is afraid that I have or shall have more social prestige than he has or ever has had", or "My father is very glad when I have bad luck. If I have good luck he pretends to be glad to other people but in reality he is always envious." Most boys claim their fathers are never proud of them. On the other hand, if the son has bad luck (no success), the father feels ashamed. The sons say, "Because of their attitude we do not like our fathers and are glad when they have bad luck."

Veitchinani is the collective term for mother and child. There are no tabus between a child and his mother or maternal aunt. He may take her property, sleep on her mats, and eat her left over food. A daughter may cook her mother's food and wash her clothes. The mother is called *nana* by a young 601
child and *tchina* by an older one. The polite forms of address are *nau* (used only to wives of chiefs) and *tumbutumbu marama* (ancestor lady) preceded 576
by a possessive. According to the natives, the mother is not respected by the children because she belongs to a different clan.

GRANDPARENTS AND GRANDCHILDREN

603 *Veitukani* is the collective term for grandfather and grandchild, *veitumbuni* for grandmother and grandchild. A man honors his grandfather's older brother, whom he designates as *tuka levu* (big grandfather). His attitude toward his real grandfather is one of respectful familiarity. He addresses his grandfather by the respectful term *tukai* or *tua* (which the natives say is a Tongan word) and does not use his personal name. The same terms are used to address his grandfather's younger brother. A man may take the clothes and garden food of his real grandfather without permission and may request his pigs and chickens and the use of his coconut groves. Grandparents indulge grandchildren, taking their part against parents. A man respects his grandmother's older sister, and the polite form of address is *tumbu levu* (big [576] grandmother). For the grandmother and her younger sister, *mbui* is correct. Children call their grandmothers *tutu* or *pupu*. Children spend much time with their grandparents, who lavish attention upon them.

VEIVUNGONI AND VASU

604 The collective term *veivungoni* includes the mother's brother and his wife, father's sister and her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, son-in-law 606 and daughter-in-law, and the child of one's sibling of the opposite sex. A strict [335] reciprocal avoidance is observed between *veivungoni*. Sexual intercourse is tabu between them. They avoid meeting, speaking to one another, and never look at one another. When they are together they keep the head and eyes lowered and avoid saying more than is necessary. The words come slowly and heavily in a trembling voice. Jokes and references to sex are prohibited. A woman does not tell her mother-in-law when she is pregnant nor does she discuss childbirth with her. Her mother-in-law may, however, assist with the delivery, and treat her daughter-in-law if she is ill. Those standing in the *vungo* relationship (p. 57) do not address one another with personal names [576] but use the polite second person plural, *kemundrau*. The polite term of address for mother's older brother and for father's older sister's husband is *mono*, and the polite term for the father's older sister and the mother's older brother's wife is *ngane*. These two terms are used without the possessive suffix. It is tabu to curse one's *mono* or *ngane*. *Veivungoni* may enter the same house, eat together, drink in the same kava circle and eat one another's left over food. Although sleeping in the same house is not allowed, it is quite common for a widowed mother-in-law to live in the house of the son-in-law (table 1).

604 *Veivungoni* are allowed to take each other's property without asking. This privilege is formalized in the *vasu* relationship which exists between a man 606 and the clan of his mother's brother. A man is the *vasu* of his mother's 618 brother's clan and has, therefore, the privilege of appropriating the clan prop-

erty without permission. The obligations of the mother's brother regarding the *vasu* are inherited by the mother's clan, so that as long as the *vasu* lives he may exercise *vasu* rights. 604 606 618

The *vasu* rights of a high chief extend to all his mother's people. For instance, the son of the sister of the high chief of Lau may, in the capacity of *vasu,* demand property from all the islands of the Lau group. He is called the great *vasu,* and his demands are a form of tribute. 643

The first *vasu* ceremony is conducted by the *vasu's* father when the *vasu* is a child. The father collects mats, tapa, sennit, and whales' teeth from his subclan. This property is called *i yau ni vaka lutulutu.* The father presents it according to the ceremonial presentation pattern (pp. 65-68) to the mother's brother, who accepts it and divides it among the members of his subclan. The ceremony gives the *vasu* the privilege of taking property at any time from the subclan of his mother's brother. He may take food from his uncle's garden and may kill and eat his pigs. Anything he requests according to the soliciting system (p. 207) will be granted. The maternal uncle, on the other hand, has the right to retaliate by taking property from the subclan of his *vasu.* This is called "causing the staff to fall" (*vakambale i titoko*). The privilege is, however, seldom exercised. (Hocart, 15, p. 40.)

The *vasu* relationship is technically a formalized exchange of property with deferred payment and not a one-sided appropriation. The exchange is not reciprocally balanced since eventually the *vasu* receives the larger share of property. It is a form of affinal exchange, one of the series of ceremonial exchanges of property between the paternal and the maternal clans which occur also at marriage, birth, and death. The *vasu* relationship in Lau serves to establish and emphasize a strong tie between a man and his mother's clan in a patrilineal society. Just as through patrilineal descent a man inherits membership with its privileges and obligations in the clan of his father, so through the *vasu* relationship he inherits a definite status accompanied by privileges and obligations in the clan of his mother. 604 606 618 182

Cross-cousin marriage is consistent with and may be genetically connected with the concept of the *vasu.* A man preferably takes a wife from the clan of his mother. As *vasu* he has the right to demand his mother's brother's daughter. The marriage involves a ceremonial exchange of property between the clan of his father and that of his mother and more closely knits the *vasu* with his mother's clan. 604 606 618

The avoidance observed between *vungo* reaches its highest expression between the *vasu* and his maternal uncle. The tabus between *vungo* are emphasized in the *vasu* relationship, and an attitude of respect is shown on both sides.

The chief of Kambara says that the *vasu* relationship originated in the *vakalutulutu* custom of the early inhabitants. He says that formerly among the

604 land people the *vasu* did not exist, but that the mother's brother's clan prepared
606 and assembled property for the sister's son. They then notified the sister's
son, who came and took the property, which was called his share (*vakalutu-*
618 *lutu*). This suggests that the formal presentation of property between the
mother's brother and the sister's son is old in Lau. The idea of seizure of
[177] property may be intrusive from Tonga where it is a part of the *fahu* (*vasu*)
institution. (Gifford, 9, pp. 22-23.)

SOCIAL CEREMONIAL

554 Social life in Lau conforms to strict rules of etiquette based on rank. The
576 same pattern of behavior, with variations in degree of elaboration according
to rank, is used down the whole social scale. Each individual observes the
main rules of the polite (*vakarokoroko*) etiquette toward persons, whether
related or not, of higher rank or toward persons who stand in the avoidance
[867 relationship. The rules are learned by children before the age of seven or
558] eight, and infringement of them causes a loss of social prestige.

The fine points of chiefly etiquette are known only by high ranking persons who have at some time been members of the chief's court at Tumbou, where social life is most highly formalized.

554 In the presence of the high chief one behaves in the polite manner. No
576 one is allowed to stand erect. Persons of low rank sit before him cross-legged
with bowed heads. They often tremble with excitement. They are ashamed
643 and look down at the ground. They crouch or bend low when he passes.
198 Persons of low rank rarely speak in the presence of the chief. Respect is
shown by silence. Joking is forbidden. A special phraseology, called polite
speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) is used in the chief's presence. This phraseology
is in the Mbauan dialect and consists mainly of metaphors employed instead of
the usual terms for parts of the body, actions, property, and personal rela-
[184] tionship. Polite speech is used mainly on Lakemba. It is rarely heard in
southern Lau and few natives know it. (Hocart, 15, pp. 46-49.)

The chiefly greeting (*tama*) consists of the exclamation, "O . . . . oa!" All
chiefly ceremonial is in the polite speech. Formerly infringement of chiefly
[689] etiquette in the presence of the chief was punished by clubbing or death, depending upon the rank of the chief and upon the offense. A simplified form of
chiefly etiquette is used in the presence of minor chiefs and relatives who stand
in the respect relationship.

554 Guests visiting a man's house observe definite rules of etiquette. No one
576 except the owner is allowed to sit on the foundation mound or the door sill
of the house. The interior of the house is divided into three parts. The lower
end of the house (*sue*), extending from the main entrance (*katumba i sue* or
katumba kumba i ra) to the first supporting posts, is public. The middle of
the house (*mbuto ni vale*), the main section between the supporting posts, is

554 576 semi-private. A visitor remains in the lower end of the house unless especially invited by the owner into the middle of the house, which is reserved for relatives and people of high rank. The upper part of the house (*longgi*) is reserved for the owner. A visitor may enter a house by the entrance at the lower end only, unless he is especially invited by the owner to use one of the two side doors (*katumba yasa*). A close relative of the owner may use either side door. A private door (*katumba kumbu i thake*) at the upper end of the large house is used for removing dead bodies from the house.

[516] When a visitor enters a house, he stoops to show respect to the owner. Formerly, according to natives, stooping was necessary because of the low doorways. In the house the visitor sits down immediately. Both men and women sit with knees flexed and legs crossed, the men with both feet resting on the floor. Old natives say that women formerly sat with knees flexed and feet on one side. The Tongan women sat with knees flexed, legs crossed, and one foot resting on the floor while the other rested on the opposite knee. Today women sit in either fashion.

A crowd sits in formation similar to the kava circle (p. 69), the highest ranking visitors along the side walls toward the middle of the house, those of lower rank (including women and children) near the main doorway. Occasionally the men sit on one side of the lower end and the women on the other. When a ranking individual enters a crowded house a place is made for him according to his rank. To take his place, he walks in front of and not behind the other guests. Natives say it is forbidden to pass behind, because in olden days a man might club another from behind.

PRESENTATION OF GIFTS

431 796 Most ceremonials involve the presentation and reception of gifts. They are based on the ceremonial presentation (*sevusevu*) pattern, which varies in detail according to occasion and participants. The gifts consist mainly of first fruits, kava, cooked feasts, whales' teeth, tapa, mats, canoes, and wooden bowls.

FIRST FRUITS

241 796 The ceremonial presentation pattern is a variation on the one formerly used for the offering of the first fruits of the land (*sevu ni vanua*) to the priest at the god house. Today first fruits are presented to the chief. The following ceremony, recorded at Undu, illustrates the pattern.

> The chief of crops offers a bunch of coconuts (called *i vono ni vanua*) to the chief, who sits in the center of the upper part of his house. It is received by the chief's herald, who sits to the right of and lower than the chief.
>
> Chief of crops, with bunch of coconuts bows at the door of the chief's house cries, "O . . . oa" (cry of welcome to chief).
>
> Herald: "Vinaka" (Very good).

241
796

Chief of crops: enters in crouching position and sits crosslegged in lower part of the house, facing the chief. The people making the offering enter and sit in the lower part of the house. "Ka vaka vanua, saka" (The offering of the land, Sir).

Herald: "Sa vinaka me i vala mai" (You may present the offering here).

Chief of crops: puts the fruit down, claps twice with hands crosswise, takes fruit, and advances on his knees. When kneeling on his right knee he turns his bent body to the left. When on the left knee he turns to the right. "O . . . oa." He places the fruit before the chief, claps twice slowly, twice rapidly and places his hands on the nuts. "Kotokoto vaka tha saka na kasa mua lala, ai vono vei keimundou a turanga ai vono ni vanua vei iratou a matua. A mbala-mbalavu nonggou yangatha sosomaki thake vakaturanga tu yani ka ndonu ka vu . . . ra." (The young bunch of coconuts, the offering to you, the chief, from the people of the land is poorly presented. The lengthy speech of presentation is offered to you in chiefly fashion with honest mind and that is all). He pushes the nuts forward.

Herald: "Vinaka" (good). He takes the fruit and claps three times. "Um . . ." (a sound expressing that he is pleased and likes the fruit). "Au a taura manda nga ni kamananga vakaturanga ka rika tu mai vei keimundou na matua ka vangara tu mai vei iratou na turanga. Au taura kau masulakina ka ndonu mai thake vua na kalou ka mbalavu tu manda nga nomundou mbula." (I accept the chiefly offerings which have come from you, the ripe fruits for the chief. I accept them gratefully. May you live long).

Herald: "Mana! E . . . ntchina! A . . . munduo! (Mana, may it be true, may it be effective!). Claps three times. "A . . . munduo!" Claps three times.

The fullest information concerning the first fruit rites was obtained on Fulanga, where Waisea said that formerly there was only one offering, the offering of the fruits of the trees. The first fruits of Muanaithake, Waisea's village, were taken to the god house called Tambanikasanga on the piece of land named Tara Nggilo. The fruit was eaten by the priest and his subclan, which belonged to the Nggilo clan.

Today there are three offerings made to the chief of Fulanga: the offering of the fruits of the trees (*sevu ni vua ni kathu*); the offering of the fruits of the garden land (*sevu ni nggele*); and the offering of fish (*sevu ni ika*).

The chief of crops has charge of the first fruits. The offering of the fruits of the trees is held annually for each of the three most important fruit crops—the *ivi* (Tahitian chestnut, *Inocarpus edulis*), the *ndawa* (*Pometia pinnata*), and the *uto* (breadfruit). Before the season for each crop, the chief of crops declares a tabu on it. Thereafter no one is allowed to eat the fruit until the tabu is lifted. When the crop is ripe the tabu is lifted by the chief of crops, and the first fruits of the crop are collected from each village on the island. They are taken to Muanaithake and presented ceremonially to the chief of Fulanga by the chief of crops and the chief's administrator. The feast is divided among the clans of the island by the chief of the ceremonial ground. The offering of first fruits is held in the fruit season between February and March. The offering of the fruits of the garden land is held annually for each of the most important garden crops: sweet potato in April, yam in May, and sweet yam in July. The procedure follows the pattern described above. The offerings of fruit and of garden produce are considered the offerings of the land (*sevu ni vanua*).

226
746

The offering of fish is not an annual ceremony but is held on special occasions as at the installation of a chief or the death of a high ranking person. The master fisherman sets the days and leads the communal fishing expedition. Standing on the reef, he holds one end of the net, while the chief of crops carries the other end to another part of the reef. No one except the master fishermen and the chief of crops is permitted to speak, and if any man throws his spear before the command of the master fisherman or chief of crops he is disgraced and his spear is broken.

The catch is piled before the chief of Fulanga. The chief of crops sits on one side of the pile, the master fisherman, who is also the herald, on the other.

> Herald: "Sa vinaka me vakathombo na ika vei Tui Fulanga" (You may proceed with the presentation of the fish to the chief of Fulanga).
>
> Chief of crops claps three times. "I . . . a . . ." (Yes). Pause. "Tui Fulanga ika ni rau sa tu. Sa thambe tu mai veta tu nggoli. O mai ika sau sa tu. Sa mai vakathombo veikemu na Tui Fulanga. A mbalambalavu tu kena vosa a sosora ki vakaturanga ka vu . . . ra." (To the chief of Fulanga: Sir, lying before you are the fish caught when we fished today. They are the fish for the chief. These are presented to the chief of Fulanga. I have spoken at length on this and this is all, Sir).
>
> Chief of Fulanga: claps three times "A . . . u, a . . . u, u . . . lia, thika manda ya au mundou tu kuku ndau. A rawa tchiko manda ya veta totoli" (I gratefully accept the fish presented by you, my fishermen. May your fishing expeditions be successful for years to come).

Then all the people clap three times and the chief orders that the catch be shared among the people. The chief of crops and the herald distribute the fish, the largest, the *sangga* and the *ndonu*, to the chief. The remainder of the catch is placed in rows according to size and from each row one fish is taken for each clan in the following order: Vunikoro, Rasea, Nasava, Sau, Vandravandra. The master fisherman's clan, Vandravandra, receives the same share as the others; but later the chief's clan, Vunikoro, presents property and kava to the master fisherman.

Turtle, *sangga*, *ndonu*, and *ndaungava*, caught at any time of the year, must be presented to the chief of Fulanga and may be eaten by the people only if the chief gives permission.

Natives say that a fish offering is occasionally presented to the high chief at Lakemba as a form of tribute. When a large catch is made on the island the men hold a meeting at which the chief of Fulanga presides. If an offering to Lakemba is decided upon, baskets of fish are loaded onto canoes and taken to Lakemba about 60 miles to the north. The sailors go to the high chief's house in Tumbou and announce their arrival. They then unload the canoes and carry the fish to the envoy to Fulanga of the Vatuwangga clan. He divides the offering into three parts: one for the high chief, one for the chief's household, and one for himself. The shares for the chief and his household are taken to the ceremonial ground in front of the chief's house and presented

226 ceremonially. The envoy to Fulanga and the high chief then give a feast
796 (*i nggaravi*) to the sailors.

In the bush near the village of Naivindamu, Fulanga, a *mbau* tree, which
241 belongs to Lingau clan, is fenced with a stone wall and called *mbau ni sevu*.
796 The fruit of the tree is tabu to all but members of the Lingau clan.

On Ongea the main offerings of first fruits are held annually for the mangrove (*Rhizophora mucronata*) and the *yangai*. The *yangai* is ripe in June and July. The offerings are presented to the chief of Ongea. Formerly every turtle caught was also presented to him, but today this custom is not regularly observed.

On Kambara in olden days the offering of *ndawa*, Tahitian chestnuts, and breadfruit was presented to the chief of Kambara. All turtles caught were presented to him also. Today first fruit offerings are presented only when the crop is particularly good. The chief of crops sets and lifts the tabu. In April, while I was on the island, an offering of sweet yams was made in Tokalau. The men of the village collected sweet yams from their gardens and took them to the chief of crops, who examined them. After they had been steamed in the clan earth ovens, the chief of crops presented them to the chief of Kambara and the village headman jointly. Afterwards the food was divided and eaten by the village.

On Mothe an annual offering of first fruits is held for breadfruit and Tahitian chestnuts, and an offering of garden products for yams, sweet potatoes, and sweet yams. The offering was formerly presented to the priest, but now it goes to the chief of Mothe. From each clump of banana trees the uppermost ring of the first bunch of the season is given annually to the chief. Each season the first cluster of fruit from each *ndawa* tree goes to the chief. He also receives all turtles, all *ndonu* and all *sangga* fish caught by the Mothe people.

On Namuka the last offering was held several years ago. They stopped the tabu because they had plenty of food.

KAVA CEREMONY

796 Kava drinking is part of all important ceremonials. It is indispensable in
rites connected with the chief—his death, marriage, circumcision; the recep-
272 tion of a visiting chief; and the building of a chief's house or canoe. It
always precedes a feast (*mangitchi*).

Kava root is a valuable object of ceremonial exchange. It is in great
demand, for kava is scarce on the southern islands where it is rarely planted
[574] and must be imported from other parts of Fiji. When a stranger arrives
in a village he presents ceremonially a whole fresh kava root to the hosts.
Dry kava roots are substituted when the green plant is not available. Kava
is never prepared and drunk without ceremony, which is elaborate in the

presence of a chief. Kava ceremonies vary slightly on different islands and for different occasions. In southern Lau on formal occasions a mixed Tongan and old Lauan kava ceremony is used. On less formal occasions a simplification of the Tongan ceremony is customary. The natives say that the Lauan ceremony is long and is marked by much hand clapping, whereas the Tongan ceremony is short and simple. The Tongans say, "Faka sinisini ko Fishi. Sa levu na topotopo" (Too many tens in Fiji, too much clapping), meaning that the Fijian ceremony is too elaborate.

796
272

The kava ceremony for the chief of Kambara is as follows:

> The kava drinkers sit cross-legged in circular formation called *yalofi*, in the following order: the chief sits in the center of the upper end of the house. On his left sits his herald, on his right, another chief or herald. The clan elders sit in two rows on either side of the chief. Those of highest rank sit nearest the chief. At the lower end of the house, opposite and facing the chief, sits a young man who is the kava maker (*palu yanggona*). In front of him stands the kava bowl, which is a wooden bowl (*kumete ni yanggona*) made of greenheart, usually with four legs. The bowl used for a chief has cowry shells tied to the sennit string handle, which is stretched toward him. It is tabu to use this bowl except in kava ceremonies for the chief. In olden days, according to the natives, an earthenware kava bowl without legs (*ndari ni yanggona*) was used.
>
> On each side of the kava maker sits a young man, called assistant at the bowl (*nggaravi kumete*). The young men who pound the kava sit behind the kava maker. Either green or dry kava is used, but natives say the green root makes a drink which is more tasty and digestible. A flat stone slab is placed on a kava mat (*yambe ni yanggona*) and when the root has been pounded with a rough stone hammer into bits, the stone slab is tilted so that the bits of root fall on the mat, the mat is passed to one of the assistants, who slides the kava bits into the kava bowl. Occasionally a wooden mortar and an iron pestle are used.
>
> Formerly kava root was chewed by youths. The kava chewers (*matha*) sat behind the kava maker. They were young men of rank related to the chief. The chewed root was removed from the mouth and placed on the strainer (*i vauvau*), composed of strips of the inner bark of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* (*vau*), which lay in the bowl; or it was passed to one of the assistants, who put it into the bowl. The kava maker and assistants chewed also. (Old men who have chewed kava in their youth seem to have better preserved teeth than those who have not chewed it. Chewing has been forbidden by the colonial government.)
>
> When sufficient kava has been prepared the kava maker raises the bowl by the two rear legs and says, "Kawa nai mama" (The kava is chewed).
>
> The herald answers, "Kuo holo" (It is kneaded), and the kava maker lowers the bowl. The herald adds, "Tukuwatu" (put it down), and the kava maker puts the bowl down. When it is resting on the ground the herald says, "Tutumalie pe kae palu" (All right, mix). The kava maker places his hands, fingers together, palms down, on the sides of the bowl. The herald looks at them and if they are not clean he says nothing and the kava maker is replaced by another. If they are clean he says, "Palu, tafoki kimoua" (Kava maker, turn), and the two assistants move forward to the bowl. During the mixing and serving they face the bowl, otherwise they face the chief.
>
> Then the herald says, "Lini o ma wai" (Pour the water). The kava maker places his hands in the bowl and the assistant who is sitting on the right of the kava maker pours water from the water container onto the kava maker's hands. It is poured away from the kava maker. It is tabu to pour it toward him. Either a bamboo water container (*ndangoni wai*), imported from Viti Levu, an earthenware pot (*kuro*), or an imported bucket is used.
>
> The kava maker mixes the kava. Before straining it he squeezes the mixture over

796 272 the bowl to show its consistency and color. The herald judges it. If more water is needed he repeats "Pour the water", and more water is added. If it is satisfactory he says, "Lele" (Good). Then the kava maker begins to strain the mixture. If he squeezes with the right hand he keeps the left elbow on his left knee and vice versa. It is tabu to raise the elbow above the knee while squeezing. If this tabu is broken, he may never make kava for the chief again. It is very tabu (*tambu sara*) for the kava maker to straighten his legs or to shake the strainer while straining. He passes it back to be shaken out.

When the kava has been strained the kava maker coils the strainer, passes it around the bowl and claps on it two or three times. He says, "Maa e kawa ni" (This kava is clear). The herald says, "Fakatau" (Wring it out). The cup bearer (*vakatau*), a young noble, who has been sitting behind the bowl, comes forward and squats in front of and facing the bowl.

The drink is served in a highly polished cup (*mbilo*) usually made of the pointed end of a coconut shell. The chief has his own cup which is tabu to all others. The cup bearer holds the serving cup over the bowl with both hands, his fingers on the outside of the cup. The kava maker squeezes some kava from the strainer into it. When the cup is full, the cup bearer lifts it with arms extended shoulder high. Then, still in squatting position, he turns. He rises to a standing position, walks slowly toward the chief, kneels with one knee ahead of the other, and fills the chief's cup, which the chief holds toward him with one hand, the index finger extending over the rim of the cup. The chief drinks the kava in one draught. Meanwhile the cup bearer returns to the kava bowl and places the serving cup beside it. Then he takes a cup of water from the assistant, and, facing the chief, stands before the bowl. The chief, after drinking, puts his empty cup down in front of him and the herald says, "A matha" (It is empty). Then all the members of the kava circle clap with hollow hands crosswise (*thombo*) but not in unison. The chief spits toward the side wall of the house, drinks water offered by the cup bearer, and spits again. The cup bearer returns to the bowl and sits down, cross-legged, in front of it. He claps two or three times. The members of the kava circle clap only after the chief has drunk. All the drinkers except the chief clap before receiving the cup.

The cup bearer picks up the cup and holds it to be filled a second time. When it is full he turns as before, and, holding the cup with arms either extended or slightly bent, he stands up straight and faces the chief. The assistant says, "Kawa kuo heka" (The kava is taken up).

The herald replies, "Aui e ma—" (Take it to so-and-so). The recipient claps two or three times, receives the cup, and drinks from it. The cup bearer returns to his place in front of the bowl but does not clap. When the man finishes drinking he throws the cup toward the bowl on the mat in front of him. The cup should not be spun.

[292 302] The cup bearer and usually the kava maker and assistants dress in ceremonial attire. They wear long pieces of Fijian barkcloth around their waists and wreaths around their necks. They oil their bodies and paint their faces black.

The order of drinking depends on rank and often does not correspond to the order of seating in the kava circle. The herald decides the order and calls out all the titles except that of the chief. When the chief has drunk, the herald who is not calling drinks, then another chief, then the second herald, and so on. The chief of Kambara says that formerly if the high chief came to Kambara he sat in the place of honor and the chief of Kambara prepared the kava. The chief of Kambara's herald sat next to the chief, and the envoy to Lakemba directed the preparations and called the order of drinking as follows the high chief, the high chief's herald, the oldest man, the chief of Kambara, the envoy to Lakemba, and so forth. 736 272

After the first round of kava, when all the members of the kava circle have drunk, the cup bearer returns to his seat behind the kava bowl, and claps two or three times. The herald decides when the second round shall be served. He says, "Fakatau" (Wring it out), and the ceremony is repeated.

All kava which has been prepared must be drunk. When the last bowl has been drunk the kava maker coils the strainer and claps on it three times. The members of the kava circle say, "Malo a vala yanggona" or "Vinaka a vala yanggona" (The kava is well made). The men sitting behind the bowl come and take it out. Then people in the kava circle may leave.

On Namuka kava songs (*meke ni yanggona*) are frequently sung during the kava ceremony. I was welcomed to the island by a kava ceremony. A cup bearer, dressed in ceremonial attire, served the kava. After the first cup had been filled at the kava bowl, he began a series of jerky movements, a sort of dance in time with the kava song which was being sung, and slowly arose facing me. He then walked to me and served me. [533-535]

The kava song follows: [539]

Mothemothe ni mbongi ka singa vaka,	Sleep at night till daylight,
Singa ka sa tangga mai langi,	The sun is up in the sky,
Laki thavu mai na yanggona me na kari,	Kava root is dug and scraped,
Ra tau ya go i mba ni langakaii,	To be laid on the *langakaii* branch,
Tanoa ka laveta i thake,	The bowl is lifted high,
Vakarau na yanggona sevuraki,	Prepare the kava to be refined,
Sevuraki ka kere tu i langi,	The sound reaches the sky,
Langi a nonova,	The heavens are watching,
Mothemothe nggai singa a vanua.	Sleep till daylight.
Kathivi andi ka laki kumbunya,	Call the lady who has gone to the other side,
Sa singa rarama na vanua.	For it is now daylight.
Mbasu na waka me tou nggunuva,	Break the kava root and let us drink here,
Livi na kena wai mbulambula,	The water poured in is quite clear,
Wai sevu ma kere savuya,	I can hear the sound of it again,
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.	Like the falling of gentle rain.

In southern Lau the kava *meke* is found only on Namuka but *meke* are often danced between rounds of kava.

A Tongan custom occasionally observed in Lau is the *wase ni yanggona* (kava feast). While the chief is drinking, a feast is prepared for him, usually by his younger brothers and parallel cousins. The food is served during the kava ceremony to the kava circle. When the food is ready the herald chooses two men from the circle to divide the feast. The young men sitting behind the bowl carry in the shares. The best share is given to the chief, the next to the herald, and so on according to the drinking order. The feast is eaten in the kava circle and the remaining food removed. Those sitting behind the bowl go outside to eat.

796 272 1 The procedure is simple on less formal occasions, such as marriage or death feasts for individuals in the village. The kava is prepared either by young men or by girls. Sometimes the kava maker and the cup bearer are girls and the kava chewers are men. In olden days kava was prepared and drunk by men only. Today it is occasionally drunk by women in southern Lau. The assistants at the bowl are frequently absent. Occasionally the bowl has several legs or no legs at all. It is not raised for inspection by the herald before water is added, the hands are not examined, and the mixture is tested, after being strained, by being poured into the bowl from a raised cup. The tabus pertaining to the straining process are not observed, and the drinking order is not fixed, nor is it called by the herald. The men in the kava circle
[372 276] usually smoke between rounds. To light his cigarette, which is leaf tobacco rolled in a dried banana leaf (*suluka*), each has placed before him a burning brand.

Occasionally a few individuals hold a kava party in the very early morning called *pongipongi*. Lauans say this is a Tongan custom.

FEASTS

796 527 Every important ceremony is marked by a feast, which is presented by one group to another, divided into shares, and distributed according to rank to both recipients and donors. Feasts vary in size and quality of food according to the rank of the recipients and the resources of the donors. Food for most feasts differs from that of the daily meal only in the larger quantity for each individual and in the addition of a sweet pudding for each. Communal fishing which provides fish for the feast usually yields more and larger fish than
[262] are caught daily by the women. Turtle and pig are great delicacies served only at important feasts for high ranking persons. Turtle is considered the most chiefly food.

[252 71] In Lau important feasts are steamed in the earth oven (pl. 2, *A*) by men, while small feasts, eaten in the morning, are boiled by women. In contrast to the daily use of the earth oven in Lau (p. 153) it is used only for feasts in the interior of Viti Levu.

The cooked food for a large feast is placed on the village ceremonial ground or outside the house of the recipient and is presented according to the usual ceremony (pp. 65-66) by one of the donors. A small feast is divided outside the house of the donor. Coconut leaves are spread on the ground and the food from the oven is piled upon them. Freshly plaited coconut-leaf baskets, one for each household, are arranged in a circle around the food. The food is shared according to households and distributed by the host. At a large feast the food is distributed according to clans under the direction of the chief of crops or the chief of the ceremonial ground. True food (*kana ntchina*), namely garden produce, is distributed first, then puddings, fish, turtle,

or pig. Pots of boiled food, covered with slightly dry breadfruit leaves, 796
fastened down by tying a piece of pandanus around the rim, are brought by
the women from the kitchens into the circle. The boiled food is either wrapped 527
in leaves and put into baskets with the steamed food by the men, or is left in
pots to be distributed with the baskets. The rank and size of the household [592]
and its relationship to the host determine the quantity and quality of its share.

The food in the baskets is covered with leaves (hibiscus, banana, breadfruit, ti). The shares are then delivered to each household by young men related to the host. The food is distributed to the members of the household and eaten quickly and informally. Sweet puddings are eaten first, then the main part of the feast. Guests from other villages often carry their food home and eat it in their own village. Shares for visiting guests with canoes are delivered to the canoes. Frequently the shares for close relatives in nearby villages are set aside and delivered.

The chief or person of highest rank always receives the first and best
share of a feast. Cooked food presented to the chief or other high persons is [576]
covered with green leaves as a sign of respect. Large fish and turtles are
wrapped in breadfruit, banana, or ti leaves and steamed in the oven. The head [252]
is preferred because it contains the mana and is therefore served to the person
of highest rank. Formerly the head of the turtle or pig was eaten by the
chief only. Now, in accordance with the Tongan custom (Gifford, 9, p. 125), [177]
the back is eaten instead and the priest receives the head.

CEREMONIAL EXCHANGES

Large competitive ceremonial exchanges (*solevu*) are made according to a 796
definite ceremonial pattern based on the *sevusevu* rites which were formerly
used to make offerings to the ancestor gods but are now used to present first 431
fruits to the chief (pp. 65-66).

On Kambara a *solevu* with deferred payment is occasionally held between the rival villages, Tokalau and Nggalinggali, and between Undu and Lomatchi. Each village tries to outdo the other in quantity of food presented. Several months or years may elapse between the initial payment and the return payment.

The following description of a competitive exchange with immediate payment, held in January 1934, between Komo and Muanaithake was obtained on Fulanga.

The exchange was initiated by the Komo people who sent a message to Muanaithake by a visiting Muanaithake man, asking that a *solevu* be held. The Komo people stated that they wished wooden bowls, a small canoe, paddles, chickens, mats, and pandanus, and that they would bring manioc. A village meeting was held in Muanaithake and the proposal was accepted. Work began on the articles, and four months later a group of Muanaithake men went to Komo on the Fulanga cutter. The Komo people gave a feast called *mangitchi ni veikandavi*. The Muanaithake helped the Komo people cut manioc in

796 431 their gardens and after two days, returned with some of the Komo people to Maunaithake. When they arrived the *veikendavaki* ceremony was held in the house of the *mbuli* Fulanga (headman of Fulanga district). First a ceremonial presentation was held; kava was presented by Komo and accepted by Muanaithake. The Komo men said they wanted to make a little *solevu* and they discussed the plans. A Komo man was sent to tell the rest of the Komo people to come with their property to the village, while the *mbuli* Fulanga prepared two guest houses (*i thili*), one for the Komo men and one for the Komo women. A small feast (*i takitaki*) was presented by the chief of the ceremonial ground to the Komo men in the guest house. The men ate first, then the women and children. The chief of Komo and the chief of Fulanga discussed the *solevu* in the chief of Fulanga's house and then decided to begin the ceremonies on the following day. That night the Komo men and the Muanaithake girls gathered in the men's guest house and the Komo girls and Muanaithake men gathered in the women's guest house for kava drinking and a *meke* (dance).

Early the next morning the chief of the ceremonial ground of Fulanga took a banana shoot (*vu ni vuntchi*) to the men's guest house, stood outside the door, gave the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief of Komo, and thrust the banana shoot through the door. The chief of Komo, inside the house, unfolded the shoot. (Informants say that the shoot, just beginning to unfold, symbolizes the awakening of the people.) The chief of the ceremonial ground entered the house and put down the stem. He was followed by young men of Fulanga carrying a feast (*i vaka vandra*, to awaken), which was presented to the Komo people and eaten by them.

The Komo people took the property brought for the *solevu* from the guest houses to the village ceremonial ground. This was called *i siko Tui Fulanga*. First many manioc roots in baskets were placed in a pile. On top of the pile were placed many breadfruit and over all was spread Tongan tapa. The people seated themselves on the ceremonial ground in two semicircles facing each other, the pile of property between them. The chief of Komo knelt in front of the Komo group. The chief of Fulanga sat on a coconut-leaf mat with the chief of crops, *tui naro*, and the *mbuli*. Then the ceremony called *vakathombo Komo* was held. The chief of Komo presented a whale's tooth to the *mbuli* Fulanga according to the usual ceremonial pattern. The *mbuli* Fulanga held the whale's tooth, saying, "Ndou a mbula tchiko manda nga na, tui Komo" (May you remain in good health, chief of Komo). He gave the whale's tooth to the chief of the ceremonial ground, who then presented a bunch of ripe coconuts (*i vono*) to the chief of Komo according to the usual pattern. This ceremony is called *vatonakina*. Then the Komo girls danced a *vakamalolo meke*, called *meke ni vakathombo*. The Komo people returned to the guest houses and were given a feast, called *mangitchi a vua viri* by the Muanaithake people. That night a *meke* was held. While the Komo people were on Fulanga the Muanaithake people prepared a small feast each morning and a large feast each afternoon for them.

On the afternoon of the fourth day the *vakathombo Muanaithake* was held. A feast called *mangitch*[illegible] *vakathombo* was presented to the Komo people. It was not eaten until after the presentation of property. The Muanaithake men carried their property to the ceremonial ground and piled it as follows: first about 15 wooden bowls and fish plates, and several headrests, then pandanus, and finally a score of rolled mats. Many chickens with legs tied were placed in front of the pile. The *mbuli* Fulanga stood (he did not kneel because he was the host) beside the pile and presented a whale's tooth to the chief of Komo. This ended the *solevu* ceremonies.

The Fulanga people won the competitive exchange because the property they presented was considered of greater value than that of Komo.

MEKE

796 533 535 A *meke* is a rhythmic chant accompanied by dancing or gestures and by drum beating. *Meke* are performed on ceremonial occasions such as large

feasts connected with marriage, death, and ceremonial exchanges, the visit of a chief, a government official, or a canoe from another island. War dances and kava *meke* are performed by able-bodied men of the community, from 15 to 50 years old. Dances such as the sitting dance (*vakamalolò*) and fan dance (*meke iri*) are performed by women. At small gatherings only the young, unmarried girls, who are not pregnant and have no children, dance, but at intervillage exchanges all the women up to about 40, who are not pregnant, take part.

796
533
535

Old people and children form the chorus. They sit in a close group on one side of the dancers and reinforce the chanting, occasionally clap the rhythm with their hands, and beat the drums. At large gatherings several drums are beaten, at small ones only one. The usual dance drum (*lali ni meke*) is a solid, canoe-shaped block of greenheart with a small rectangular concavity in the body. A youth sits with the dance drum clasped with both arms and presses the cavity against his chest which acts as a sounding board. He breathes in and out with the rhythm while another youth sits in front of him and beats the drum with two small sticks. Sometimes the dance drum is beaten while it lies on the ground, cavity downward, but natives say the tone thus produced is flat. *Meke* are occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum (*nduvu*), a hollow section of bamboo about 14 cm. in diameter and 60 cm. long. The seated drummer holds it upright before him with both hands and drops it to the ground rhythmically. Bamboo drums are scarce in Lau where large bamboo does not grow. They are imported from Viti Levu.

796
533
534
535
[439]

The leader of the dance usually begins intoning in a loud, shrill voice. Almost immediately the group movements and the accompanying beat of the drum begin, but occasionally the drums precede the leader. After the introductory phrase the chorus joins in the chant until the end of the strophe. After a short pause the second strophe is begun in the same fashion. The whole *meke* is repeated many times.

796
533
535

Chanting is very shrill and loud, and resembles yelling rather than singing. A scale of several intervals is used. A limited number of movements, which interpret the words or emotions of the dance, are repeated over and over in the *meke*. Every part of the body, including the eyelids, eyes, fingers, and feet, are active. However, the gestures alone do not make clear the meaning of the *meke*, even to a native observer. A few simple gestures like the moving of wings or the paddling of oars are stylized.

Meke performances last for hours, often throughout the night, and as they progress the performers and spectators grow more and more excited. The chanting, drumming, and clapping become louder, and the body movements more intense. The war dances, which formerly served to excite the warriors to a frenzy, now serve as emotional release. The natives say that most of the *meke* have an erotic appeal.

[832]

796 533 535 New *meke* are taught by the master dancer who is often the composer. Old *meke* are learned by imitation. There is no master dancer on Kambara. The newest forms on Kambara were learned from a man of Vungalei, Tailevu, who visited the island several years ago. Southern Lau is not a center of new dance forms. New forms are sometimes imported into southern Lau from Matuku, Taveuni, Kandavu, and Lakemba.

Meke learning provides entertainment for the whole village. Two or three months before an important event, such as the arrival of a chief, *meke* are practiced on the ceremonial ground almost every afternoon and, if the moon is bright, in the evening. The dance is repeated innumerable times until each individual has mastered every detail. The rehearsal is a social event attended by all women and children of the village. Girls and young women dance while [522] older women watch and applaud. In Nggalinggali a rehearsal was interrupted by a middle-aged woman named Koro, who did a parody on the *meke* to the delight of the other women who laughed hilariously at her antics.

Old *meke* found in southern Lau are the war dance (*meke ni valu*), the sitting dance, and the fan dance, and on Namuka the kava dance (*meke ni yanggona*). These types are definitely Fijian. The old *meke* are composed in the *luve ni wai* idiom (p. 118) and their meaning is not clear to present-day natives.

WAR DANCES

535 721 There are two types of war dances (*meke ni valu*): the club dance (*meke ni malungu*) and the spear dance (*meke ni wesi*). They are distinguished by vigorous warlike movements and facial expressions. The dancers carry clubs or spears which they flourish menacingly, dancing and chanting at the same time. Around their waists they wear barkcloth and dance skirts made of strips [292 302] of hibiscus bark dyed black, and around their necks wreaths. Their bodies are oiled and their faces blackened. The dance is accompanied by the *meke* drum.

[539] A war dance recorded on Kambara follows:

Na wesi	Spear dance
Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,	Oh, sir rat,
Ka ulia na sivaro	Stir the pudding
Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka.	Sir pig is down.
Iri mbula, ra mbula,	Fan of life, sir life,
Iri mate, ra mate.	Fan of death, sir death.
Iri vakasanggalenggalo	The sinking fan
A iri mbula, ra mbula,	Oh, fan of life, sir life,
A iri mate, ra mate.	Oh, fan of death, sir death.

SITTING DANCE

The sitting dance (*vakamalolo*) is the most popular dance form among the women. The dancers wear kilts of tapa and wreaths around their necks and wrists, and their bodies are oiled. They sit cross-legged in one or more rows facing the group for whom the *meke* is being given. The youngest girls sit at the ends of the rows. Suddenly one woman, chosen for her shrill, high voice, begins intoning the words of the *meke* and immediately the group gestures and the accompanying beat of the *meke* drum begins. The sitting dance is occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum. 535 [292] [516]

A sitting dance recorded on Kambara follows: [539]

Tandrua levu ka sa na thiri koto,	The double canoe is anchored there,
Au mbutuka na nuku ka lombolombo,	Where I landed the sand is soft,
Era vei talanoa, era nggoro	They were very much surprised
Wangga ni Mburotu ri ka sa na songgo	When we arrived in the Mburotu canoe
Uru tiko nai ndreke i na koro.	And anchored near the village.
Nai mboi ni yasi kula, yasi ndromo,	The scent of red sandalwood, golden sandalwood,
Nai mboi ni mamba tu na mothelolo,	The scent of *mamba* with *mothelolo*,
Nai mboi ni makita thuruoso	The scent of *makita* creeps into the village
Ka laki mbotea na loma ni koro.	And fills it with fragrance.

FAN DANCE

The fan dance (*meke iri*) is usually performed by women, each dancer holding a fan of pandanus decorated with streamers of dyed hibiscus bark. The fan accompanies the rythm of song and body in the sitting dances as well as in dances where the women stand or walk slowly to-and-fro. In the sitting dance it is often struck on the ground or against the palm of the hand. A fan dance chanted by Tatchini of Kambara follows: [293]

535
539

Endua na thangi thava ukaya—endua na theve,	What wind is blowing—the southeasterly,
E liku so via noi mba ni vandra,	It shakes the boughs of the pandanus trees,
E mo thangera noi vuna a vuana.	The fruit has fallen to the ground,
E mbuku a sila kau royawa,	The sheet of the canoe is fast,
E *Ruve Kula* e mbale malua,	The *Red Pigeon* is heeling badly,
Na kenai sele u laki kauuta,	I take a knife to cut the rigging loose,
Mosi yaketenggu kau lualua,	My belly hurts and I vomit,
E ro mbalei ndaku ni vanua,	We sail around to the other side of the land.
Au via ndrondro ula au via.	

E vuka na manu mai wasawasa,	The birds are flying from the sea,
Kena iri kauthia vava,	Their wings fanning in the breeze,
Rasuka ki wai rambutuka vata,	They return to sea flying together,
Ramusuka ekere a thangi amba.	Soon they encounter bad weather.
Tangitha na ruve u laki vasuka,	The pigeon pledges the return of his comrades,

535
539

E theie rei lala a ndrusa vuka,	He fears being alone,
E mangi au rai vakasungga,	So the pigeon decides to return and to stay,
Ulili ki muri u laki mbutuka,	Because the storm is gathering
Umasuka eke re a thangi mbula,	But alas, he is the only one to be saved.
I sa na mbula ae,	. . .
Rasamula kina ki sa na mbula e.	. . .

535 [292] Another dance type is the *scasea,* in which, according to the natives, women sometimes wear wigs of hibiscus bark dyed black, called *ulu mate* (dead head) or *ulu lasulasu* (false head).

[177] The natives say a Tongan dance called *lakalaka* has been introduced but is seldom seen in southern Lau unless the visit of a chief is expected. A dance called *tupaki,* possibly from Uvea, is performed with a paddle (*paki*) of *manu* or *vesi.*

MODERN DANCES

Modern *meke,* which are composed according to old patterns, are less figurative than the old. They reflect the changing scene of modern life. The following modern sitting dance was composed in Matuku and recorded on Kambara, where it is popular among the women:

[539]

Singa Monite ni sa na yakavi	On next Monday afternoon
Mai ndua manda na veivosaki,	We shall have an informal meeting,
Menda sa na mai vondo na landi,	We'll go out cruising in the launch,
Ndomo ni ndini ka sa na tatangi.	The engine will roar.
Ni mai rongotha, ni mai sarava	Come and listen and see
Na Andi Thilema soli katakata,	*Lady Thilema* speeding ahead,
Sa ná vuso ruarua na mbambana.	The foam breaking on both sides.

535 522 Joking songs (*kuma*) are usually sung by clowns who accompany them with grotesque gestures and comical expressions. One type of *kuma* is the monkey dance (*meke ni nggele*) in which the performer imitates a monkey. The monkey dance is said to be recent in Lau.

[539]

Meke mate ko nggele,	Dance of the death of the monkey,
Meke mate ko nggele,	Dance of the death of the monkey,
Ko nggele, ko nggele!	Monkey, monkey!
(repeat)	

GAMES [2]

DART THROWING

526 A variation on the dart game (*teka* or *tika*) found in Polynesia and adjacent Melanesia was *tchingga,* formerly a popular game in southern Lau. The game consisted of throwing a reed or spear (*moto ni tchingga*) for distance along a permanent shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*). The ditches are seen today near old village sites. I examined a shallow ditch, 180 meters long

---

[2] Since many games in Lau form a part of the social ceremonial pattern games have been included in this section.

and 5.5 meters wide called Wainikeli in east central Wangava. Low banks of 526
earth on either side of the ditch were 50 cm. high.

Mosesi, an old man of Namuka who formerly lived on Wangava, had played *tchingga* in his youth. He gave the following account of the game:

> *Tchingga* is an old game played by men. The *tchingga* ground was in or near the village. In olden times the court had a ditch but more recently the game was played without one. I have never seen a game played in a ditch. If the ditch was used the reeds flew farther because they hit the side wall, were knocked back into the ditch, and hit the wall again farther along. *Tchingga* games were held between clans, villages, and islands. The Namuka people played often with the Kambarans. When they wished to play they sent a group of men to Kambara to present kava and invite the people to participate in a game. A prize consisting of mats, coconut oil, tapa, or other property [525]
> was decided upon. It was collected from both sides before the game and was kept by the chief until the game was over, when it was presented to the winners. When the Kambarans arrived on Namuka they offered kava to the hosts, and the Namukans presented a feast to them. Before the players started they had a kava ceremony either indoors or outside near the playground. If the game was held on Namuka, the Namuka men always threw the reeds first; if it was held on Kambara the Kambarans threw first. The player held his reed (*i tchingga*) between middle finger and thumb of his right hand and covered the pointed end of the reed with his index finger. With his left hand at about the height of his chin, he held the butt end of the reed between index finger and thumb. When ready to throw, his body started to move rhythmically and the girls, who were spectators, chanted the *tuki tchingga*. The Namuka girls chanted when the Namuka men threw and vice versa, as follows:

[539]

Moi tu ka tangane tha,	They have thrown the ugly man (reed),
A thava ko rairaitha rairaitha i ra?	Why is it so bad looking?
Thethe ki lekutu ka ramusu! . . . pei!	Gliding into the bush and breaking! . . . pei!

> The last word, a short, explosive sound, was the signal for the player to throw his reed. During the chant a girl (occasionally two) who liked the player, stepped up to him and struck his upper arm and shoulder. She did this apparently for fun, but really because she wanted to touch the man. If no girl struck a man he was ashamed. Each side had a player called eye or face of the devil (*mata ni tchimoni*), who threw for luck first, but his throw did not count. If he did well his side knew it would play well. Next the best player in the last game threw. The rest of the players followed, and when they finished the players of the opposite side went through the same procedure. The man who threw his reed farthest was the winner. The winning reed had no name. If the Namukans won they would call out, "Sau e Na Ndrondro Levu!" (Na Ndrondro Levu is the name of a large passage which is always rough and therefore keeps enemies away from Namuka). If the Kambarans won they would call, "Sau e Lekutu Levu!" (Lekutu Levu is the name of the forefather god of Vuanikathu clan) or "Sau e Nggara Tambua!" (Nggara Tambua is the name of a sacred cave on Kambara.)

Intervillage, interclass, and interisland rivalry was expressed playfully [578]
through reed throwing. On Mothe the chief group and the land group played against each other.

On Lakemba the game is called *tingga*. Hocart (15, p. 91) says, "In serious play the reeds are tipped with a head of *toa* wood, a very hard and heavy wood, and thence called *ulutoa* which is the Tongan for a head of *toa* wood (ironwood). When thus tipped it is thrown higher and travels far. A loop of string is sometimes attached to the butt." 526 171

[171] This composite dart (*ulutoa*) is found throughout western Polynesia (6, pp. 102-103). Davidson (6, p. 106) believes it to be of Tongan origin.

VAKATALOLOVO

Vakatalolovo was a game formerly played by young men. It was described by the chief of Kambara as follows:

> A small thatched hut was erected and filled with food. The players lined up with bow and arrows about 11 meters from the hut. They took turns shooting at the hut and the food each player hit became his property. He took it immediately and ate it at the end of the game.

VAKANDOVU

Natives say that *vakandovu* is played today, but I did not witness it. Stalks of sugar cane are piled up and covered with leaves. A group of young men with spears stand about 15 meters away from the pile and each in turn throws his spear at the pile. The cane he hits becomes his property.

JACKSTRAWS

In the game of jackstraws (*fitchi*) there are two or more players. *Ngasau* (*Miscanthus japonicus*) reeds or hibiscus stems are cut in pieces about 25 cm. long. They are piled in a heap, and each player in turn lifts off one stick with thumb and third finger. If two sticks move the player loses his turn.

CONTESTS

A *rova*, or race run for a prize consisting of barkcloth, was witnessed at the launching of a canoe on Kambara (p. 184). Informants say that a *rova* is held on Kambara when a new garden is cleared, and that on some islands it is held at the birth of a first-born and at the first visit of a chief to the island.

Informants say that in olden times the *rova* was not customary but contests were held for making baskets (*vetau talikato*), jumping (*vetau vuka*), running (*vetau kanda*), and sailing (*vetau wangga*). On Mothe I witnessed a sailing race in which six canoes participated. The inhabitants of the island gathered on the beach in front of Nasau to witness it.

BOXING

Boxing is called *tukitekau*. According to informants, the hands of the players are wrapped with tapa or cloth from fingers to wrist, leaving the thumb exposed. The players are divided into two teams forming two rows. [868] They are allowed to strike anywhere. Informants say that the purpose of this game is to learn to fight.

STRING FIGURES

String figures (*sana*) are made all over Lau, chiefly by women and children. I did not attempt to record them in the limited time available for this study.[8] 524

OTHER GAMES

The games of *lafo* or disk sliding, *kitchia* (*kitia* in Mbauan) or squat hopping, *vakasiri* or guessing, and *vakatu* or rhyming, described by Hocart (15, pp. 92-95) are known in southern Lau. *Lafo* is played outdoors by young people in Kambara, not indoors by adults as at Lakemba. *Kitchia* is played by girls only on Fulanga.

CHIEF'S INSTALLATION

No chief's installation ceremony (*veimbuli*) was witnessed, but an account of the installation of the present chief of Fulanga, an island chief of low rank, was recorded on Fulanga. 622

> About a month after the death of the old chief, when a good man had been found in the Vunikoro clan to replace him, the chief of crops called a meeting of the whole island to set the date for the installation. Each village made preparations to contribute part of the installation feast (*mangitchi ni veimbuli*). On the appointed day each village prepared its own earth ovens and cooked its share of the feast. The cooked feast was placed in baskets and piled in front of the house of the chief of crops. When all the food had been assembled it was examined by the chief of crops, who told the people to take it to the new chief. When the people approached with the feast the new chief emerged from his house dressed in ceremonial attire of Tongan tapa and a wreath and with his body oiled. He wore nothing on his head. The feast was presented to him and then the young men of Vunikoro carried it to the ceremonial ground where it was spread on mats. Then men of Vunikoro pounded kava provided by their clan. It was served in the open, and the Fijian ceremony was used. The drinking order was: chief of Fulanga, *tui naro*, chief of crops, chief's administrator, and chief of the ceremonial ground. Before the chief drank he said that anyone who thought he should not drink must say so. No one spoke. Only one round of kava was served. When the bowl was empty the drinkers clapped. The new chief was thus installed. The chief of the ceremonial ground divided the feast, and the *tui naro* distributed it in the following order: chief of Fulanga, district headman, native missionary, Vunikoro (clan headman), Rasea (clan headman), chief of crops, chief of the ceremonial ground, *tui naro*, Muanaira, and Naivindamu.

Installation ceremonies for chiefs of higher rank are more elaborate. Besides the kava ceremony and the feast they usually include the tying of a piece of tapa on the arm of the new chief, as an emblem of chieftainship, and the confinement of the chief for four days. During this time noise is tabu. This is followed by the bathing ceremony.

CHIEF'S RECEPTION

Great preparations were made on Kambara for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, 643
who is district commissioner of Lau and the sister's son (*vasu*) of the late 574

---

[8] For information concerning string figures from Fiji, see James Hornell, String figures from Fiji and western Polynesia (17, pp. 11-60).

643 574 Ratu Finau, the high chief of Lau. Assemblies of the men of the island made arrangements for the reception. The women on both sides of the island began to practice *meke* two months before he was expected. A canoe, sent from Nggalinggali to Wangava to secure turtles, returned with six, and they were placed in the turtle fence in the lagoon near Nggalinggali to await the feast. The finishing touches were applied to two sailing canoes, which had been under construction for the past six months. One was built by the west side and one by the east side of the island. The women worked on two mat sails for the canoes and on two long pieces of barkcloth.

During the preparations a dispute arose between the two sides of the island regarding the program. The east side wished to hold separate ceremonies in Nggalinggali. The headman of Tokalau village insisted that the two sides cooperate in ceremonies held at Tokalau since the chief would probably not have time to go to Nggalinggali or to witness two sets of ceremonies. Several meetings of the island elders took place concerning the disagreement. Long speeches were made and whispered conferences held. The dispute was settled when the chief arrived and his herald announced he could stay only a few hours. All the ceremonies were held at Tokalau. The envoy to Lakemba, who was in charge of the ceremonies, chose representatives from the clans of the chief group.

The ceremonies began when the elders of the island paddled a canoe out to the chief's cutter and the headman of Tokalau village presented a whale's tooth ceremonially to the chief on behalf of the island. After the presentation the flag was lowered, so this ceremony is called hauling down the flag (*luva ni tawake*). Next, the same man presented a second whale's tooth, a ceremony called weighing the anchor (*thavu ni kelekele*). Then the Kambara people went ashore.

[516 576] Some time later the chief's wife landed. She was received by the women of the village who sat cross-legged to show respect along the avenue through which she passed on her way to the village. Then the chief accompanied by his herald landed, and he was greeted in the same way by the men. The chief, his wife and his retainers were escorted by the island elders to a pavilion outside the government house for the wading (*nggalonggalovi*) ceremony. The chief sat at the upper end of the pavilion, his wife on his right, and one herald sat on either side of the pair. The island elders formed a kava circle, according to rank.

A bunch of green coconuts (*i vono ni vanua*) was presented to the chief by the chief of crops. The natives say the purpose of this ceremony is to let the chief know that the products of the land are at his disposal. Next a coconut-leaf mat (*tambakau*) was presented to the chief's wife. Then an offering of dry kava root was prepared and drunk. During the kava ceremony, Tongan [431] songs were sung by the Kambaran men. This was not part of the ceremonial

but was done because the chief likes Tongan songs. Between rounds of kava,
ceremonial presentations were made to the chief. These were two large pieces 643
of Tongan tapa (called *i vaka mamatha*), two canoes, four turtles, and two 574
large mats. Six kava bowls, to be sent by the chief from the Kambara people 431
to the council of chiefs, were prepared for shipping. Meanwhile a *meke* was
danced for the chief's wife by two groups of girls, representing the west and
east sides of the island. At the end of the *meke,* the dancers removed their tapa
attire and presented it to the chief's wife. This was called the *luvaluva ni meke*.
The chief's wife made a return gift of money. Later another whale's tooth
was presented by the assistant *mbuli* of Kambara and then a small feast
(*i sirovi*) was presented. It consisted of a large fish, fish soup, and sweet
potatoes.

LIFE CRISES CEREMONIES[4]

PREGNANCY

Childbearing is an important social function for both parents. Through 843
childbearing a woman can most successfully increase her social prestige, and
women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of their first child. [557]
It makes no difference to them whether the child is a boy or a girl. The first-
born is the living representative of the ancestor gods and the temporary reposi-
tory of the clan mana. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him. His [851]
conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially
repeated for subsequent offspring.

Conception is known in Lau to be the result of sexual intercourse, but the 842
general opinion is that conception does not occur unless a couple copulates
repeatedly. It is believed that a woman who has intercourse with many men
will not become pregnant.

On Mothe, the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by a 843
ceremony called *i vaka votu ni ngone* or *vaka votu*. The female members
of the pregnant woman's clan gather together and her mother paints her
entire body with a yellow powder (*rerenga*) made of the mangrove root, which [386
is grated, mixed with water, strained, allowed to settle, drained and dried. 302]
This is called *poroporo*. The natives do not know why this is done but say it is
an old custom. Four days later the women go fishing in the sea and the yellow
powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held.

During the first one hundred days of pregnancy a woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai,* and must observe certain tabus. For instance, she must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets; she must not touch or even look at a turtle net lest no catch be made; she may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse; nor may she bathe in the sea. A small communal fishing catch is usually attributed to the presence

---

[4] For the development of the child and his induction into group life, see 23, pp. 26-59.

843 of a *taiwaiwai* woman among the fishers. The woman must not cut her hair lest her strength be sapped. After one hundred days the woman is no longer a source of danger, and is in a state called *kunekune*. Her hair is cut for the first time since she has become pregnant, she bathes in the sea, and takes part in the communal net fishing for the feast which is provided by the relatives of the expectant couple. After fishing, the pregnant woman is rubbed with oil and dressed in her best kilt.

[184] On Fulanga no ceremony is held at the beginning of a first pregnancy, but the *i vaka votu ni ngone* is held after the first one hundred days of the first pregnancy of a married woman. It marks the woman's change of status to *kunekune*. The *vaka votu* ceremonies are held only for a woman's first pregnancy to mark the conception of her *ulu matua* (first-born), but the tabus are observed for all pregnancies.

Both parents observe certain tabus throughout the pregnancy to protect the foetus from harm and insure its growth. They abstain from eating any kind of fish which has been cut into pieces before being cooked, lest the child be born with a disease called *manaka na ika tava*. They must also abstain from eating the following sea foods: *vethu, kai ndawa, tuvu, lailai vai, yalewa matua, ndambe, ulumburu,* and *lolo* (sea eel) lest the foetus be injured.

CHILDBIRTH [5]

844 On the day of birth and for two or three days after birth the mother and child are visited by relatives from the mother's and father's clans. The relatives bring small gifts of roasted ripe coconuts and mats, tapa, or oil. The gifts are presented without ceremony and are received by the paternal grandmother. They are kept by the child's parents.

For at least four nights after the birth a group of five to ten female relatives from both the father's and the mother's sides sleep in the house with the mother and child. This group is called the *songone* or *tonitoni*. When Makarete of Saumua clan, Tokalau, gave birth to a child, the *songone* consisted of the child's maternal grandmother, the maternal aunt, the paternal grandfather's sister, the paternal granduncle's daughter, the paternal aunt, and the paternal uncle's daughter. The child's father must feed the *songone* which stays from four to ten nights depending on his resources.

846 852 On the fourth day after birth a ceremony called *i silisili ndraivu* or *vakambongiva* is held. The young mother bathes in the sea for the first time since the birth. She is accompanied by her own mother or other near relatives. The *songone* go fishing to secure sea food for a small feast provided for them by the father. On this day the midwife, if she is not a close relative, is presented with property such as tapa or mats. The tapa in which the newborn infant was wrapped at birth is removed for the first time, and the child is

---

[5] For details concerning childbirth in Lau, see 23, pp. 27-32.

given a steam bath in the house. In a special oblong wooden bathing bowl 846
(*kumete ni silisili*) are placed cut *waro* leaves. A hot stone is put on the
leaves and the infant is held over the steam by one of the *songone*. When the 852
leaves cease to give forth steam, the child is washed in water. This bath is to
clean and heal the navel. No men are allowed in the house during the process.

The most important birth feast is the *i mburua ni ngone*, which is usually held on the first or second day after the birth of any child. It may, however, be held on any day up to the tenth. This feast for a first-born, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The earth ovens of the father's and the mother's clans are used, but for subsequent children only the oven of the father's clan. If the family is prominent, the birth feast is large and attended by the whole village, if not the feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided and attended by the mother's clan only.

Twins are desirable in Lau. Twin boys are called *ndrua tamata*; twin 845
girls, *ndrua alewa*.

If a child is stillborn (*suthu mate*) the body is kept near the mother for
three or four nights, for it would be harmful to the mother to take it away
sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a sickness called *tandoka*, char-
acterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Stillbirths are buried in 766
the cemetery above a previous burial from the same clan. The destiny of the souls of stillbirths is not clear to the natives. If both mother and child die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in the same grave. Their souls go to Nai Thimbathimba (p. 114). In miscarriage the foetus is kept two nights and then buried in the cemetery without ceremony.

When the child is born the father moves out of the house and sleeps in a 846
men's house belonging to his clan until the child is weaned. Sexual intercourse
with his wife is tabu during this period, but the father frequently has clan- [834
destine affairs with the women of the village who do not stand in the tabu 837]
relationship with him.

Feces of the infant are wrapped in tapa and kept in an excrement basket 854
(*kato nda*) which hangs on the wall of the house where the child lives. This
is done because they are a part of the child and removing them would cause [515]
the child to have diarrhea. For the first child the basket must be kept 100 days, 184
after which the father throws it over the reef into the sea. The spot where it sinks is marked with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish there until the ceremony, called *mangitchi ni ona singa*, is held when the child is one year old. If the father erects a tabu stick he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is lifted. The feast adds to his prestige and to that of the child. If the parents cannot provide food for a big feast, they simply throw the basket into the sea without declaring a tabu. The excrement basket for a subsequent offspring need be kept only until the child shows he is gaining strength, usually two

854 [184] or three months. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu. This custom of *kato nda* which is common on Fulanga is not found on all the islands.

852 [851 431] A feast called *mangitchi ni ona singa*, which is held when the first-born is one year old, is not held for subsequent children. If the child's parents are prominent this is a large feast, marked by an affinal exchange of property. The child is bathed in the sea for the first time on this day. The ceremony is divided into two parts, the "bathing" and the "drying" rites. The bathing rites (*mangitchi ni sili ki wai levu*) are held on the beach by the women of the mother's clan. The mother's older sister, who is in charge, collects property (*i suai ni sili*) from the mother's clan, bathes the child or chooses another woman to do so, and distributes the portion of the *singa* feast which is eaten by the women on the beach. The father's older sister, who has charge of the drying rites, collects property (*vaka mamatha*) from the father's clan. Parents of the child receive no share of this property which is ceremonially exchanged and divided between the relatives.

On Namuka the first part of the ceremony (*i silisili ki wai levu*) is held when the child is about four months old and the second part (*mangitchi ni ona singa*) is held on his first birthday.

Another important ceremony for the first-born is the *mangitchi ni kana mbaletchi*. It may be held at any time within the first year. On Fulanga this feast is held on the third day after birth. Formerly when the child was of a prominent family, this feast was attended by the whole village. Today it is a clan feast only. The clan members gather in the house of the oldest living male relative in the child's clan. The child is presented to the clan elder by his paternal grandmother, if she is living, or by his father's or his mother's sister. The elder sits on the mat with the child on his lap and food or kava is placed before him. He reaches over the child for food or for a drink and brings it to his mouth. Before the elder eats over the child, no one may do so, not even the child's mother, but afterward anyone may. A small feast is held by the relatives and property is presented to the elder by the child's parents.

In high ranking families a small household feast, called feast of the first tooth (*mangitchi ni vaka votu ni mbatchi*), is held for the first child's first tooth. When the child begins to crawl another small feast, called feast of the little old man (*mangitchi ni nggasinggasi*), is held. The last two feasts are rarely observed in southern Lau.

[851] A small household feast called *mangitchi ni papi* or *mangitchi ni mbaptiso* is held for every child at baptism into the mission church.

BOYS' PUBERTY

881 During my residence in Lau no boys' initiation ceremonies were held. The following information was obtained from natives on Kambara, Namuka, Mothe, and Fulanga.

Boys' puberty ceremonies in Lau center around the rite of circumcision (*tevi*), or more accurately, supercision. The word *tevi* is not used in the presence of women, but the polite word, *sili* (bath), is used. The rites are not performed every year, but when the fathers of a group of four or more adolescent boys in the village are prepared to furnish the property and food required. A father judges by the growth of pubic hair of his offspring whether or not he ought to be circumcised. The age for circumcision varies among the islands, but boys are usually circumcised when they are between seven and twelve years of age. The rite takes place in harvest season when the food for the feast is ripening in the gardens. It is believed that at this time of year, when everything in nature is dying, inflammation is less likely to result. Though the operation may be performed by any man, one who has served once is likely to do so for a number of years. Each village thus has its circumciser (*matai ni veitevi* or *matai ni veisili*). The art is learned by observation and practice. In Tokalau the rite is performed in the coconut grove about 200 meters north of the village at a spot called Vanua ni Tevi (Land of Circumcision). The group of initiates is called *laualaua tevi*. Only the circumciser, the boys, and the fathers know the date. Usually only the boys and circumciser are present. 881 304

A boy is seated on a log or rock conveniently placed so that his knees are level with the hips of the circumciser, who stands in front of the boy. One of the initiates stands behind the patient and puts his arms around the boy's chest to hold him if he should faint. The circumciser then cleans the penis with tapa wrapped around a stick. Then another stick called *vekaveka* of *veka* wood wrapped with white tapa, is shoved lengthwise between the foreskin and the glans penis. The circumciser cuts lengthwise through the skin until he strikes the tapa wrapped around the *vekaveka*. Formerly a bamboo knife or a sharp shell was used, but today a razor blade is the usual cutting instrument. Lakai, the circumciser of Tokalau, says that a bamboo knife is best because the cut bleeds just enough to clean the wound and that a cut caused by a shell often heals too slowly.

Immediately after the operation, chewed hibiscus leaves (*kalakalaisoni*) are applied to the wound. The penis is then wrapped in *vevendu (Scaevola)* leaves, which have been softened by beating and scorching, then bandaged with fresh white tapa and bound, head up, to the abdomen, by means of a T-bandage of tapa (*masi loti*). When all the initiates have been circumcised, they go to one of the village men's houses, which becomes the house of circumcision (*mbure ni tevi*). They are confined there for four days, under the care of the circumciser, and their fathers provide their food. They are instructed to be quiet, to have no fear of the dark, and not to think about girls. If a boy has an erection, which under the circumstances is painful, he hangs by 881 [752 824]

881 his arms from the rafters of the house and the erection subsides. So far as is known, the period of confinement is not used for formal instruction in communal lore.

When the fathers and paternal uncles of the boys prepare a feast called *i mburua ni tevi* on the first day after circumcision, the village knows that an initiation is being held. The feast is presented to the circumciser outside his house and eaten there by him and by the boys' relatives—their fathers, paternal uncles, brothers, mothers, and sisters. A share of the feast is taken to the initiates.

On the fourth day a large feast called the bathing (*i silisili*) is held. The initiates leave their house for the first time after the operation to return to the place where the operation was performed. They wet and remove the tapa bandages and bathe in the sea. Then they take a piece of green coconut midrib [824 757] or a stick of *yale* vine (*tabu mbombo*), heat it in the fire, and gently rub the penis to reduce inflammation. The wounds are dressed with chewed hibiscus leaves or chewed *yale* and are again bandaged with tapa. The boys oil their bodies and wrap new white oiled tapa, provided by their mothers, around the waist twice, draw it over one shoulder and down to the opposite hip, where it is tied. Meanwhile a large feast has been prepared by the initiates' relatives. The feast and property such as tapa and mats, also provided by the relatives, are taken to the circumciser's house and presented to him. The food is distributed outside his house, where it is eaten by the whole village. The boys may leave their house after the fourth day, but they continue to sleep in it for a month or two.

Initiation rites for the son of a chief are more elaborate than those for other boys but do not differ essentially from them.

GIRLS' PUBERTY

There are no ceremonies in Lau to mark a girl's first menstruation. Formerly a feast, called *sili ki wai levu,* was held to mark a girl's first fishing at about the age of ten years.

881 302 836 Some girls at the age of ten or eleven begin to twist a lock of short hair over one ear into twenty or more two-strand cords (*tombe,* pl. 3, *A*). These are not cut until the *kotchi ni tombe* ceremony after her wedding night or until it is proved that she is no longer a virgin. These "virgin locks" usually fall to the shoulder but occasionally almost reach the waist. Informants say that now these locks are not much more than a coiffure for unmarried girls without offspring. Only about 50 percent of the girls wear the *tombe.* It is said that the custom of wearing "virgin locks" has appeared [177] recently in Lau. It probably came from Tonga where such locks are called *fangafanga* (Gifford, 9, p. 186).

881 The custom of confining a chief's daughter for several months in order to bleach and fatten her (*tambu singa*) is not found in southern Lau. Informants say it existed formerly in Tumbou, Lakemba (Hocart, 15, p. 149), but that it is the "way of the devil" (*vakatevoro*), that is pre-Christian. When I visited the village of Tavuki, Kandavu, the chief's daughter was being thus confined. Natives of Namuka said that the custom was also practiced in the village of Nakasale, Kandavu.

881 304 [797] Formerly adolescent girls in Lau were tattooed on the thighs, the corners of the mouth, and the fingers. The custom of tattooing (*nggai*) was forbidden by the missionaries, and there are no longer any tattooed women in Lau.

Tchosaia of Kambara said that all girls in Lau were formerly tattooed, but Kalo of Fulanga said that only some were tattooed and that of these a number did not finish the whole process because of the pain. Tattooing, according to informants, made the girls grow strong and develop fully. Joana of Kambara said that tattooed women looked better, that their bodies grew stronger and remained firm longer, and that the wrinkles of age were concealed by the design.

The following description of the tattooing process was obtained on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Mothe from aged informants who had not actually witnessed the process but had obtained the description from women who had been tattooed.

> The tattooing was begun shortly after a girl's first menstruation by a female specialist (*ndau veinggia, ndau veisau,* or *ndau ni mbatchi*), who had learned the art of tattooing from her mother. She felt the patient's thighs to determine whether or not the girl was ready for the operation. It was initiated by a feast and was performed in three or four installments with a lapse of several months between them. The entire process covered a period of a year or more. If a girl had sexual intercourse either before or during this period the operation would be more painful and the wounds would require more time to heal than otherwise. Two or three girls were usually tattooed in succession.
>
> [343] [522] The operation was performed in a special tattoo hut (*vale ni veinggia* or *vale ni veisau*) located on the edge of the village. This consisted of a lean-to thatched with plaited coconut leaves or an unoccupied sleeping house appropriated for the occasion. The tattoo hut was tabu to men, who jokingly referred to it as the "Black Bottom" (*Sotho Loaloa*). A pointed instrument (*kau ni veinggia*) was used. One to three points consisting of barracuda or shark's teeth, bones of a fish (*sokisoki* or *wai*), or thorns of the lemon tree were attached to a short haft, adz fashion. The pointed end of the instrument was dipped into a black dye made of *sikethi* nut or the pitch of the *yangai* tree. It was then placed on the patient's skin, and struck with a mallet (*tchitolo*) of hibiscus wood. When not in use the instrument was hung in the smoke above the fireplace. After the blood had been wiped away, the wounds were covered with barkcloth.
>
> 881 304 386 Dye from the *sikethi* nut was made by the process used today to obtain dye for barkcloth designs. After removing the shells, twenty or thirty nuts were strung on the midrib of a coconut leaflet (*sasa*) and burned over a fire under an earthen pot, on which the black soot collected. On islands like Fulanga where *sikethi* is scarce, it was imported from Mothe, Namuka, Oneata, or Vatoa. To make black powder from *yangai* pitch, lumps of pitch were placed in a fire and the soot from the smoke was caught on a pot above.

881 304 The patients were confined for about a week in either the tattoo house or their parents' homes under the care of the tattoo specialist. Food was provided for them by their parents. They were not allowed to bathe in the sea, to leave their houses except in case of necessity, or to be seen by men.

When the design (*nggia* or *sothondra*) which covered the girl's thighs was completed, it resembled a pair of black shorts. It was hidden by the girl's skirt of hibiscus bark (*liku*). After the thighs had been tattooed a design (*samunggawe*) was tattooed on the back of the fingers between the knuckle and the first joint. Then a design (*tawelu*) consisting of a half-moon filled in solidly with black was tattooed on each corner of the mouth. The designs on the fingers and the mouth showed that the girl was nubile.

[424 531] Each specialist had her own designs, which resembled designs seen today on barkcloth. The designs for a chief's daughter and those for other girls differed, but no one knew what the difference was.

When the entire process was finished a feast (*kanakana vatu ni nggia*) was held. The girls bathed in the sea for the first time after the final operation and their bodies were oiled and clothed in barkcloth. They were usually married soon after this ceremony.

[177] Informants believed that tattooing was introduced into Lau by immigrants who came from Viti Levu and founded the chiefs' phratry in Lau. This would identify the tattooing complex with the high Fijian culture of eastern Fiji (p. 215). According to Roth (20), tattooing is still practiced surreptitiously in the provinces of Ra on Viti Levu and Mathuata on Vanua Levu. Its survival in these provinces, which are strongholds of the high Fijian culture, substantiates the above hypothesis. (See also Brewster, 1, pp. 185-186.)

Today, some boys and girls have their names tattooed on their arms by anyone who has learned to write. This is done with a needle and any dye. Names are often misspelled and letters inverted.

BETROTHAL

584 Child betrothal (*watchi ni suthu*) is common in Lau. The boy's father arranges his betrothal to his female cross cousin, the preferred mate, some time before he reaches the age of seven or eight. Having chosen a mate for his son, the father discusses the matter with the elders of his clan. If the match is approved, he collects a whale's tooth, mats, tapa, and other property from his relatives. Several male members of the clan present the formal proposal (*lakovakina*) accompanied by the property (*i lakovaki ni tchikina*). After considering the matter the girl's clan sends a representative with the answer to the boy's clan. [177] In recent times the proposal and the answer are occasionally written in pencil on imported paper. If the proposal is refused the property is returned. If it is accepted the two children are called *watchi* (spouse) and gifts of food and property are made at intervals by the boy's father to the girl's father. When the children reach the age of seven or eight they are informed of the arrangement.

[583] Child betrothal is not binding, but natives say that most child betrothals are consummated in marriage. If either the boy or the girl does not care to

marry his betrothed he may break the engagement (*vakandaroivola*). This 584
necessitates the formal return of the property (*i lakovaki ni tchikina*) presented by the boy's clan to the girl's clan at the betrothal ceremony, or its equivalent. However, the food and property, of considerable value, which the girl's relatives have received from the boy's relatives from time to time are not returned with the original gift.

Frequently a man is reluctant to marry his childhood betrothed for, just as the tabu on a man's classificatory sisters (*weka*) tends to stimulate his sexual interest in them, so the accessibility of his cross cousins (*watchi*), especially his betrothed, tends to make them less desirable. However, he is loathe to break his engagement, for he knows that if he does so his father will be very angry at the loss of so much property. Hence a young man postpones his marriage as long as possible.

When he is between eighteen and twenty-five, his father and his clan, [582]
whose interests lie in the preservation of the sacred clan mana, force him to take decisive steps toward marriage. He either marries his childhood betrothed or breaks his engagement and finally becomes engaged to another girl. After he has talked to the girl (*veivosaki*) and gained her consent, he tells his father. If the elders of his clan approve of the match, the formal proposal (*lakovakina*) is made. When the elders of the girl's clan have approved the match, an engagement feast (*mangitchi ni vola*) is prepared and presented
by the boy's relatives to those of the girl. When a match is not sanctioned by [583]
the clan elders, the young couple occasionally elope (*veitumbaitaki*) to the bush, where they stay until the anger of their relatives, especially of the boy's father, has abated. At first the couple is talked about in the village, but gossip soon dies away. When they return they are accepted as man and wife and a wedding feast may or may not be held.

MARRIAGE

Weddings in Lau differ greatly in size and importance. The quality and 585
quantity of the feasts and gifts for the ceremonial affinal exchanges not only reflect but also determine the social status of the intermarrying clans, and there is much rivalry between them. However, in the long run, the boy's clan usually contributes the larger quantity of food and property (p. 95). The boy's clan sets the date for the ceremonies which are usually held in harvest season when food is abundant.

Preparations for the wedding rites are begun months ahead. The work is shared by the men of each of the intermarrying clans who are responsible for the marriage feasts and by the women, who provide the tapa and mats for the affinal exchanges of property.

I attended a wedding in Naivindamu, a small low ranking village of sailors

585 and fishermen on Fulanga. The wedding was a very poor one because of the low rank and poverty of the intermarrying clans. Although pigs are usually the most essential wedding food none was killed for this marriage because pigs are scarce in Naivindamu. The wedding was somewhat irregular because the usual Christian wedding rites had been performed in the mission church six months before and the native ceremonies had been delayed until food for the feasts could be accumulated. The young couple had been living together in the house of the groom's father, and the bride was pregnant.

Early in the morning of the wedding day relatives of the bridegroom began to arrive from the other villages of Fulanga and from the island of Ongea. No close relatives of the bride were present because she came from Vatoa, an island about 50 miles south of Fulanga. While the food for the earth oven was being prepared and steamed by the young men (pl. 2, *A*), the male elders drank kava served by two young girls on the mound of a house under construction. Women and girls were busy in the kitchen houses, making wreaths, which they wore around their necks, and preparing greens and fish in coconut cream for the feast.

585 [431] 292 In the middle of the afternoon there was a ceremonial exchange of property (*rau mbutu*) between the two intermarrying clans. Out of the house used as the groom's headquarters came four girls, each bearing one corner of a large mat stretched at full length. Just behind them walked the groom, wrapped in an outer garment consisting of a large folded piece of Tongan tapa which extended from his arm pits to the ground. It was tied around his waist with a piece of pandanus, over which was knotted a single width of white tapa (*masi*). His body was oiled and around his neck he wore an elaborate wreath of leaves and hibiscus bark dyed burnt orange with *kura (Morinda citrifolia)*. His hair was bleached rust color and stood out about 9 cm. from his head. He wore two red and blue pompons of imported wool fastened just above his temples to a tapa head band.

585 The procession walked to the house which was being used as the bride's headquarters. Here the mat was placed on a piece of Tongan tapa spread in front of the entrance. The groom and his procession walked over it into the house. The groom left his ceremonial outer garment as a gift to the bride's relatives, and, wearing his kilt of Fijian tapa, he returned to his headquarters. Next, six girls, carrying an outstretched piece of Tongan tapa (3.5 by 6 meters), emerged from the bride's house. They were followed by the bride, dressed in an outer garment of Tongan tapa. She wore a wreath like the groom's but no ornament in her hair, which was sprinkled with powdered sandalwood. The bride and her attendants walked to the groom's headquarters, where the barkcloth was placed in front of the entrance. The procession walked across it and entered the groom's house. The bride left her ceremonial

outer garment as a gift to the groom's relatives, and, wearing her kilt of Fijian tapa, she returned to her house. 585

The exchange of similar gifts was repeated five times, but after the first exchange the gifts were carried by three assistants plus groom or bride, the groom helping to carry his gifts, the bride hers. 431 585

The groom left six mats and six ceremonial outer garments of tapa at the bride's house; and she left one piece of Tongan barkcloth, five mats, and six ceremonial outer garments of barkcloth at his house. The gifts left at the groom's house had been provided by the bride's relatives, and, after the affinal exchange, were divided among the groom's relatives who had contributed to the collection of property for the relatives of the bride. The return gifts were divided according to the share each relative had contributed. The gifts presented to the bride's clan were later sent to Vatoa to be distributed among her relatives in the same way. The young couple received no share of the property. The mats presented by the groom were made on Fulanga, a mat-making island, but his tapa came from Namuka because no tapa is made on Fulanga. All the property presented by the girl came from Vatoa where both tapa and mats are made. [438 287]

The ceremonial exchange was followed by the sharing of the wedding feast (*mangitchi ni vakawatchi* or *mangitchi ni vakamau*). Coconut leaves were spread on the ground about midway between the house of the groom and that of the bride, and on the leaves were placed breadfruit, pumpkin, manioc pudding steamed in the earth oven, and fish boiled with greens. The feast was surrounded by a circle of 50 empty baskets, one for each household attending the wedding. It was divided by five youths who were directed by an elder of the groom's clan. The filled baskets were carried to the households in the village and to the visiting canoes beached along the shore of the lagoon. The villagers ate quickly in casual household groups or departed for home with their full baskets. 585

In the evening the close relatives from both sides assembled in the groom's house for the "eating together" feast (*mangitchi ni kana vata*), which symbolized the marriage. Each side provided one basket of food. The sister of the bride took one mouthful of food from the bride's basket in her fingers and fed it to the groom. The sister of the groom took one mouthful of food from the groom's basket and fed it to the bride. Then the baskets of food were exchanged between the intermarrying clans. The married couple removed their outer barkcloth garments which were exchanged by their clans. The "eating together" feast ended the marriage ceremonies at Naivindamu.

Informants say, however, that usually on the same evening the relatives from both sides meet to drink kava and dance in the groom's house, a festive occasion called wedding night (*mbongi marau*). Late in the evening all the

585 wedding guests leave the house except the young couple and three or four old female relatives of the bridegroom, including his mother, grandmother, and paternal aunt, who remain for the "virginity test" (*rarawa*). The women sleep in the lower part of the house and the bride and groom retire to the upper part which is frequently screened off by a curtain of Fijian barkcloth. Here a nuptial bed of mats and barkcloth has been laid by the groom's relatives. On it the bride's relatives have spread a piece of white barkcloth for the virginity test.

In the morning when the young couple leave the house the old women examine the barkcloth covering the bed. If stains are found they consider the bride to have been a virgin. Often, if the bride is not a virgin, the groom helps her secretly to secure the blood of a chicken or a pig or some red dye to produce the desired effect.

The old women announce the news to the village. They shout and dance and display the signs of virginity to the bride's relatives who are very proud. The village gongs are beaten and frequently the barkcloth is hung outside the house as a proof to all the villagers. The groom's relatives prepare a large feast for the bride, now called "new woman" (*alewa vou*), and her relatives. They kill a pig if possible, and the apertures of its body—the snout, eyes, ears and anus—are covered with banana leaves as a symbol of the bride's virginity. If the signs of virginity are not produced, the girl's relatives are ashamed. The groom's relatives are angry, and they prepare only a very small feast for the young couple.

If the bride is wearing "virgin locks" the ceremony called cutting the locks (*kotchi ni tombe*) is held on the day after the wedding. Both sides assemble [431] in the groom's house and the groom's clan presents mats and tapa to the clan of the bride. The gifts are piled up, the tapa on top. The bride sits on the pile and her mother-in-law singes the locks, or, if a pair of scissors is available, cuts them. They are usually discarded but occasionally the girl makes them into a necklace.

Another ceremony, called "the drying" (*i vaka mamatha*), takes place in the groom's house on the same day. The groom's relatives present property to the bride's relatives according to the ceremonial presentation pattern. Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 169) calls this ceremony "drying-of-the-tears" which the bride shed on leaving her home. Occasionally it is held on the evening of the wedding day after the *mangitchi ni kana vata,* the "eating together" feast.

[515] A ceremony called bath in the sea (*i silisili ki wai levu*) is held on the fourth day after the wedding. The bride takes a bath in the sea for the first time after her marriage. The natives say that if she bathes in the sea before the fourth day, water will get into her stomach and make her sick. The bride goes fishing with her relatives to procure sea food for the large feast which

is provided and prepared by the groom's clan and is eaten by the whole village. 585

An analysis of the marriage affinal exchange shows that the most elaborate rites mark the marriage of a virgin. The ceremonies, which last for four days, are summarized as follows:

First day:

1. ra mbutu, affinal exchange of property provided by both clans
2. mangitchi ni vakawatchi, large wedding feast provided by both clans
3. mangitchi ni kana vata, small "eating-together" feast provided by both clans
4. preparation of nuptial couch (bedding contributed by both clans)
5. rarawa, virginity test

Second day:

6. i vaka yandra, large feast for a virgin provided by the boy's clan
7. i vaka mamatha, the "drying" property provided by the boy's clan
8. kotchi ni tombe, cutting of the "virgin locks", property provided by the boy's clan.

Fourth day:

9. i silisili ki wai levu, bath in the sea, property and large feast provided by the boy's clan

Ceremonies 1, 2, 3, and 4 involve contributions from both the boy's and the girl's clans. Ceremonies 6, 7, 8, and 9 involve contributions from the boy's clan only. For the actual rites the boy's relatives contribute a larger amount of property and food to the girl's clan than they receive. For the betrothal rites all the property and food is presented by the boy's clan to the girl's clan. Hence marriage involves a reciprocal exchange of property in which the boy's clan pays by far the greater share.

For the first marriage of a non-virgin only ceremonies 1, 2, 3, and 7 are held, all in one day. The marriage involves a reciprocal exchange of property between the two clans in which the boy's clan contributes very little more than the girl's.

The marriage of a widow (*ndawai*) is even less elaborate. It consists of [587] ceremonies 2, 3, and 7 held on the first day.

It is clear, therefore, that the man's clan pays for virginity. If the bride is not a virgin the marriage involves a more nearly equal affinal exchange.

DEATH

When a person is near death his body is oiled, dressed in a clean kilt, and 763 moved to a new mat. An unconscious (*tandoka*) person is considered dead [828] (*mate*) because his soul has left his body. He might be restored to life by a medicine called *wai ni ndoka* or by the capture and return of his soul. After death is seen in his eyes, the body is placed on a large piece of Tongan tapa and covered with oiled tapa or a sheet of cloth.

763 The female relatives of the deceased begin to wail. The words are not formalized. On Kambara the following cry is repeated over and over: "Ei valu vei au . . . valu vei! E a wei!" or "Wei, a wei, ai valu vei au!" (Alas, woe is me, woe, alas!) For an individual considered to be a great loss to the community—such as a young person, especially the first-born of a ranking clan—the wailing is very loud and lasts from the hour of death until burial. For an old and feeble person of low rank there is less wailing.

765 A widow (*ndawai*) cuts her hair close to the head and wears old mats for one hundred nights. She wears a string of hibiscus bark around her neck, which she knots every night in order to keep count (*mbongi*) or a pumice (*soata*) stone is rubbed white, and a black mark made with a brand every night. After the tenth night, she is allowed to fish. After one hundred nights she is allowed to remarry.

764 I witnessed six burials on Kambara and one on Lakemba. Several of these have been described in order to show variations of the death ceremonial pattern due to rank, age, and circumstance.

Death of the high chief

766 The death of the high chief is an important social, economic, and ceremonial event in the life of the Lauans. It is one of the few occasions on which all the islands of the group function as a unit.

When Ratu Finau, high chief of Lau, died at Lakemba word of the death spread by canoe throughout the Lau group, and preparations for the funeral ceremonies began immediately. On each island were collected whales' teeth, mats, tapa, and food if it was available. Members of the leading clans of the main islands (including men, women, circumcised youths, and young girls belonging to the upper class) were selected to attend the funeral ceremonies. About two weeks after the death had occurred they were picked up by a cutter belonging to the district commissioner of Lau. I accompanied the Kambara group. The cutter stopped at Namuka and Oneata to board representatives and tribute and landed at Tumbou, the village of the high chief at Lakemba.

Every house in Tumbou was crowded with natives from all the islands in the chiefdom of Lau, except the most remote, Fulanga, Ongea, Vatoa, and Ono. The whole village was under a strict tabu which lasted from the time of the chief's death until his burial. No one was allowed outside his house except in necessity, and everyone who appeared in the village was required to wear black. Men and women wore kilts and shirts or blouses of barkcloth, tied old, frayed mats around their waists, and cut their hair. The hair of the women, cut 2 to 5 cm. from the head, was shorter than that of the men. The village ceremonial ground was kept clear by the high chief's bodyguard, composed exclusively of men from Naiau. Dressed like warriors in kilts of tapa, with oiled bodies and blackened faces, they stood at attention with a club on the shoulder, guarding the entrance to paths leading across the ceremonial ground.

[534] The only sound to be heard was that of the nine conch shells blown continuously from the time of the chief's death until his burial, by men of the nobility of Lakemba. The conch shell blowers sat under a pavilion beside the Chief's House (Vale Levu), and blew the shells continuously in four or five hour shifts. This is called *a nondra tangi na turanga;* at a chief's funeral it replaces the usual wailing, for only the chief's nearest relatives are allowed to wail.

Between death and burial, the body lay in the chief's house in a closed coffin of *yaka* wood with hinges and corners of plated silver. The coffin had been imported from Suva prior to the death of the chief, who had been ill for some time. The deceased had been dressed by near relatives in a shirt, a coat, and a kilt of Tongan tapa. The head was bare. Informants said that formerly a whale's tooth was buried with the body, but on this occasion none had been placed in the coffin. 766 [825]

The interior of the chief's house consisted of two rooms separated by a wooden partition. The coffin lay in the middle of the inner room on a wooden dias, .45 meters high, covered with fine mats. The floor of the room was covered with fine mats and barkcloth, and the walls and ceiling were festooned with Fijian tapa.

On the thresholds of the two doorways on the windward side of the room, fires of sandalwood burned continuously from the death to the burial. Because of the scarcity of sandalwood in Lau the wood for this purpose had been collected for years and stored in the chief's house. The fires were attended by near female relatives of the deceased, who frequently scattered powdered sandalwood about the coffin. The fragrance of sandalwood permeated the room and obliterated the odor from the corpse, which was not preserved in any way.

The walls and ceiling of the outer room were draped with long strips of Fijian tapa. Five long pieces of tapa lay in elongated, puffy piles on the floor. At the lower end of the room near the main entrance sat four women called fanners (*iri iri*). Each held a fan (*iri*) in the right hand and fanned with short, quick, rhythmic movements which, by means of a turn of the wrist, described a semicircular arc in the air. The women worked in shifts so that the fanning was continuous from death to burial.

At night a group of female relatives, called the *tonitoni*, kept watch over the body. Natives say that the purpose of the *tonitoni* is to keep away evil spirits. Women of the nobility watched in the inner room and those of the lower class in the outer room. Outside the house was brilliantly lighted with lamps placed at intervals along the walls.

The older male relatives of the deceased (*koira na tonitoni* or *mbota*) sat in the kava house (*vale ni yanggona*), a temporary pavilion erected near the chief's house, drinking kava day and night. Women were present in the kava circle, but middle-aged men mixed the kava by the Tongan method. The root was pounded in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle and mixed in a wooden bowl with legs which was made on Kambara. The ceremonial kava drinking continued until the tenth day after the burial when a feast called *i vaka mbongi tchini* was held. Relatives who were absent from the kava circle were fined small quantities of kava. The crowd smoked and told jokes and amusing stories, and whenever it became too noisy every member was fined a handful of kava and tobacco. [412 415]

As the funeral day drew near, groups of mourners began to arrive from Lau, and even from Mbau and other parts of Fiji. As each group arrived it presented property (*i yau ni renggurenggu*), consisting of whales' teeth, mats, and tapa in a house (the Vale Vou) in the chief's compound. The mats were carried and presented in rolls, the tapa in long, outstretched pieces, and the whales' teeth in clusters of six to ten. The gifts were received by the herald of the deceased, a man of Tanggalevu, Tumbou. Kava, made by noble women, was drunk. The root was pounded with a stone pounder on a flat stone. After the presentation ceremony the property was taken to the chief's house.

The funeral (*na veimbulu vaka turanga*) was held on the day after I arrived. A cement vault, 3 meters long, 1 meter wide, and 3.5 meters deep, had been prepared in the chief's burial mound, called Vakanitawake, in Tumbou. The burial mound was rectangular in shape and 3 meters high. One broad side was stepped. The vault was lined with mats ornamented with bright wool borders, and the mound was fenced with tapa and wreaths. Women mourners carried long, outstretched pieces of Tongan barkcloth and placed them on the ground to carpet a path from the door of the chief's chamber to the tomb. They seated themselves about 2 meters apart on either side of the path and bowed their heads (pl. 1, *A*).

Over the tapa carpet moved the funeral procession. The bier was carried on mats by 20 men. It was followed by colonial officials from Suva including the Governor of the

Crown Colony, conch blowers, the women of the *tonitoni*, and other close relatives. Most of the guests waited at the burial mound.

The British flag was placed on the bier at the vault, and a Christian service was conducted by the Lakemba resident missionary. It was punctuated with a drill by a squad of the native police from Suva and with three shots. The coffin was wrapped in tapa and mats and lowered into the mat-lined vault. Three handfuls of sand were thrown onto it, and powdered sandalwood was scattered over it. The conch shells were heaped outside of the vault. After the service the concrete lid of the vault was lifted into place by about 30 men.

A funeral feast, provided by the lower class, was presented by the Lakemba district headman to the upper class in the chief's house. The food was piled on the ceremonial ground and divided into two parts: one for the upper class called *i wase ni yanggona ni tei ni turanga* and one for the lower class called *i mburua*. The chief's herald divided the feast into shares which were presented in the following order: the high chief, the villages of Tumbou, Levuka, Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Nasangalau, Nukunuku, Yandrana, and Vakano on Lakemba; Naiau island, Kambara group, Mothe, Oneata, Fulanga group, Thithia, Ono group, Lomaloma district on Vanuambalavu, Mualevu district on Vanuambalavu, Moala, Totoya, and Matuku.

The strict tabu on the village of Tumbou was raised as soon as the chief was buried, but the people continued to refrain from making noise until the tenth night. Most of the representatives from other islands left Lakemba a day or two after the funeral.

On the tenth day a smaller feast (*i vaka mbongi tchini*) was held. The women of the *tonitoni* bathed in the sea and went fishing for the first time after the death and returned to their homes. During the ten-day period they had been fed by the chief's household.

On the hundredth day after the chief's death a feast (*i mburua*) was held. This was a great feast for the Lau group, and representatives from the outlying islands again gathered at Lakemba for the ceremonies.

Another ceremony connected with the death of the high chief or a member of his immediate family is the *mbambisa*, performed within a year or two after the death of a ranking noble. It was obligatory in olden days. Informants from Kambara say that some time after the death of Ratu Nailatikau the people of Kambara collected tapa, whales' teeth, mats, oil, and sennit and sailed by canoe to Lakemba. A message was sent ahead of the canoe to notify the Lakemba people that the ceremony was to be held. Before entering the passage at Tumbou the sailors tied the property to the mast. As the canoe approached Lakemba, people swam out to meet it and the sailors pulled down the property piece by piece and threw it overboard. Finally, the sail was lowered and thrown overboard, too. The property was captured and retained by the swimmers.

Death of an island chief

Ceremonies for the death of an island chief follow the same pattern as those for a high chief, but are much less elaborate and vary according to the rank of the deceased. My information concerning the death of Timothe Thakau is from Tchosaia, the present titular chief and from his herald.

When Timothe Thakau of Vuanikathu clan, Tokalau, the last chief of Kambara, died conch shells were blown from the time of death, which occurred at dawn, until the burial just before sundown of the same day.

Gifts of tapa and mats were brought by all the people on the island. The herald received them and wrapped the chief's body in them. The district headman of Kambara was in charge of the funeral. (Before British annexation, the chief of Tokalau, Matandravu subclan, Vuanitavola, was in chårge.) The pall bearers belonged to the chief's clan and that of his herald.

The chief was buried in the village cemetery at Tokalau. A large, old whale's tooth was placed in the grave as a head rest. The grave was marked by a truncated pyramid earth mound with two stone-faced steps and a rectangular ground plan (pl. 1, *B*). Ten conch shells, blown between the death and burial, were placed on it. The village headman was in charge of the burial feast (*i mburua ni mate*), which was provided by the people of the whole island and divided by the chief of crops.

Informants said that the widow of the chief of Kambara was not strangled and that they had never heard of widow strangling in Lau.

The funeral rites for the chief of Fulanga are less elaborate than those for the chief of Kambara, who ranks far higher as an island chief. The following account of the death of Waisake, the former chief of Fulanga, was obtained from Kalo, the wife of the present chief.

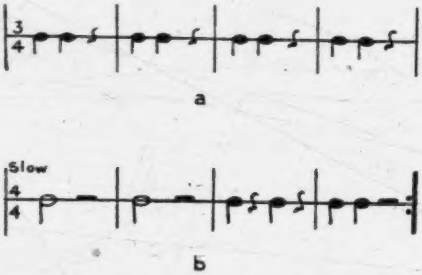


FIGURE 4.—Drum beats: a, beat to raise the death tabu, drummed on a tapa board; b, beat of the funeral march, drummed on pairs of large wooden slit-gongs.

When Waisake died no conch shells were blown, but the relatives of the deceased wailed: "Oi lei nonggou turanga ko sa mbui ti au! Sa lako e na sala ka senga ni lesu tale mai!" (Alas, my chief! He has gone along the path and will never return!) Kava was provided by the chief's clan (now split into Vunikoro and Rasea) and served by middle-aged people in Tongan fashion for three or four days and nights. The *tonitoni*, composed of women from the village of Muanaithake, occupied the chief's house (*vale ni tangi*, house of wailing) and two or three other houses for ten nights. During this time they were fed by the chief's clan. Laughing and dancing in this house was tabu before dawn on the fourth day, when the sound of the *vakataratara*, beaten by many women of the village on a tapa board, lifted the tabu on silence in the usual way. The rhythm of the *vakataratara* is shown in figure 4, *a*.

The body was buried on the day of death. It was wrapped in mats and carried to the cemetery by men of Nasava and Vandravandra clans, who also dug the grave. The death feasts, provided by all the villages on the island were as follows: *i va kotokoto* for the mourners on the day of burial; *i mburua* for the island on the day after the burial; *vakataratara* for the mourners on the fourth day after the death when the tabu was lifted and the *tonitoni* went fishing; *i vaka mbongi tchini* for the island on the tenth day; and *i vaka mbongi ndrau* for the village on the hundredth day.

Death of a young man

764 [754] A Namuka boy, 21 years old, was visiting in Nggalinggali, Kambara, where his sister had married into the noble Naivotavota clan, when he broke his toe and contracted tetanus. The natives thought the stiffening of the body due to sorcery. On the eighth day his relatives realized that he was going to die, so they moved him from the small house where he had been lying into a large house belonging to Naivotavota. The boy died the following morning.

When I arrived about noon the village was under a tabu of silence. If anyone laughed or sang he had to pay a fine of property or food. The body of the deceased, with hands folded over the chest, lay on a couch (*vata*) 30 cm. high parallel to the main axis at the upper end of the house. It was resting on a piece of Tongan tapa, placed over fine mats bordered with bright wool. The deceased was dressed in a shirt and kilt of cloth and covered with Tongan tapa. On this lay white oiled tapa. Over the head was a piece of white oiled tapa and a wreath. The upper part of the house was separated from the lower by a large piece of tapa, hanging from the ceiling to within 2 meters of the floor. Six young girls, relatives of the deceased, sat or lay near the bed, weeping silently, and fanning the body and themselves. They wore no special mourning clothing. Older women, wearing black kilts covered with old mats, sat along the walls toward the center of the house. Occasionally a man or woman entered and presented gifts of mats, tapa, cloth, and kava. Before they presented their gifts ceremonially, close relatives kissed the hand of the deceased by placing it against the nose and inhaling. Gifts of cloth and tapa were placed over the body.

Soon the young women, a few old ones, and one or two youths began to wail. The wailing had begun after the death but had been discontinued for a few hours in the middle of the day. It reached a climax when the body was being wrapped for burial in fine tapa and new mats, tied with sennit, and moved out of the house. The wailers beat their foreheads and the walls and house posts with their fists. Four men lifted the large mat on which the body lay, carried it through the door at the upper end of the house, and placed it on a stretcher made of rough boughs tied with sennit which resembled a ladder. The stretcher was carried to the cemetery shoulder high, by six men chosen for their strength. Behind the body walked the native missionary and two or three older men. Most of the women followed, those of high rank leading. While the procession moved to the cemetery the formal death beat used for all funerals was repeated slowly six times on the village gongs. It sounded first on one pair, then on another pair of different pitch at the other end of the village, as shown in figure 4, *b*.

The close female relatives remained in the village and continued to wail, but during the funeral ceremony they arrived, silently, one by one, at the grave, knelt by the body and buried their faces in the mat wrapped around it. The native missionary conducted a twenty-minute Christian funeral service in the Mbauan dialect. The body was lowered into a grave, 3 meters long, 1.3 meters wide, and 1.6 meters deep, by means of the large outer mats, and the sennit fastenings were untied. Three handfuls of sand were tossed into the grave, then beach sand from a dozen freshly made coconut-leaf baskets was poured into it. Finally, the sand which had been dug out of the grave was shoveled back and a mound was formed over it and covered with beach sand brought in the same baskets by young women. No children and no young men except the pall bearers attended the burial ceremony.

On the afternoon of the following day the death feast (*i mburua ni mate*) was held. Food was provided and prepared by the relatives of the deceased and eaten by the village. For two nights after the death a group of women watchers (*tonitoni*) slept in the house (*vale ni tangi*) where the death had occurred. Early on the morning of the third day the watchers lifted the tabu on noise by beating the *vakataratara* (fig. 4, *a*) on a tapa board. They bathed in the sea and fished for the first time since the death. A small feast called *vakataratara* was provided them by the relatives of the deceased. On the tenth day a small feast called the *i vaka mbongi tchini* was held by the relatives. On the hundredth day a feast called *i vaka mbongi ndrau* was held, and the mound over the grave was faced with oiled pebbles and hung with garlands of fragrant leaves. 764

Death of an infant

A female infant of six months, the first-born of a young couple of the noble Vuanitavola clan, died in Tokalau one day at about noon. 766

The close female relatives began to wail loudly after the death and continued until the burial procession left for the cemetery at about four o'clock in the afternoon. The immediate family of the deceased sat on a large piece of tapa at the upper end of the house and fanned the body, which was resting on a folded piece of tapa and covered with oiled white cloth. More distant relatives, weeping silently, sat in the lower part of the house. There was no talking aloud or laughing in the house. At intervals during the afternoon gifts of mats and tapa were presented ceremonially by relatives from Tokalau and Lomatchi.

Finally the body was placed in an imported camphor-wood chest, which served as a coffin. The chest was slung on a pole with ropes and covered with a piece of tapa. It was carried in the funeral procession by two men. The baby's grave was fitted into the cemetery where there was room near his relatives' burials. The funeral service was performed by the native missionary. After mats and tapa had been placed in the grave the coffin was lowered into it, the head toward the north. (Adults are usually buried with the head toward the east but informants say that orientation of a baby does not matter.) One of the men laughed when shoveling sand into the grave because the sand fell onto the coffin instead of onto the wrapped corpse, as is customary.

The death feasts were postponed for a few days because of preparations for the visit of a chief.

The death ceremonies for the child followed the same pattern as those for the young man, but differed from the man's in that the wailing for the child was louder and more prolonged, gifts were more plentiful, and the details of burial were less carefully executed. The child was a first-born of [554]
high rank and died in her own village, whereas the young man, although a noble, was born on another island.

Death of an old woman

When an old woman of about seventy, belonging to the Mbete subclan of the noble Vuanikathu clan, died in Tokalau, the wailing and presentation of mats began immediately after death and lasted for about two hours. The funeral took place in the afternoon and was attended by a few old men, old women, and children. No young men or unmarried women were present. Before the grave was filled the mourners talked and joked freely. The death feast which was small was postponed for six days to allow the Vuanikathu clan (which neglects its garden land) time to collect the necessary food. 764

Disposal of the body

In pre-Christian times the dead were usually buried in caves. Skeletal remains as well as spears, clubs, grave sticks, and parts of canoes are found

764 in many caves today. Informants said that the weapons of warriors were buried with them and that bodies were occasionally placed in canoes in the caves. Moto of Undu said that when his grandfather died the family was living in a small cave. The body was laid in the cave and the family remained.

Moto said he heard from his father that in olden days some of the land people were exposed on frames in the bush. No other informant had heard of this custom.

Some informants said that there were no cemeteries in pre-Christian times, others that each hamlet had its own cemetery (*mbulumbulu*) where some of its members were buried. The chief of Kambara said that the nobles were interred in the ground, whereas the common people were placed in caves. Archaeological excavation is necessary to check these statements. After the introduction of Christianity each village had a cemetery in which all bodies were buried.

A child was often buried in the mound (*yavu*) of his parents' sleeping house, which continued to be used. Moreover, the Mothe people said that Ului Lakemba II was buried in his house mound on Ndelaimakotu. The first-born of Valakevoro, two generations ago, was buried in his house. House burial for adults, however, seems to have been less prevalent in Lau than it was in Viti Levu. A well-informed chief stated that house burial was formerly the rule in Viti Levu, and suggested that the importance of the old house sites in Fiji may be attributed to their being also ancestral burial places.

No evidence was found of cremation, urn burial, or sea burial.

[775] Formerly the ghosts of men who were buried alive haunted the villages for four nights and then went to Nai Thimbathimba (pp. 114-115).

888 737 Informants on Fulanga said that when the *tui naro* (headman) of Vandravandra clan became old and feeble he was taken to Taluma Islet (fig. 2, 41) in the lagoon and abandoned (*seno*). Mosesi told me that on Lakemba there is a cave filled with skeletal remains of old people who died there after having left the community.

Food for the dead

764 Once only while I was in Lau I saw a package rolled in a somewhat dry leaf placed by relatives on a grave a few days after a burial. The grave was that of a young woman who had died in Tokalau. Natives said the package contained boiled flour and water left uneaten by the deceased and that it was placed on the grave so that her soul would have food. Tchosaia of Kambara said this was never done in olden days.

Memorials

Stones are occasionally erected as memorials to the dead (*lawa ni mate*). A meter high, upright limestone marks the spot on the beach between Lomatchi

and Tokalau where a man named Velana was killed. In the village of Tokalau 764
four stones, forming a rectangle, mark the spot where a man dropped dead.
A pile of stones at Toka, Fulanga, also mark a burial place.

Formerly, members of the deceased's clan would chop off their little fingers with an adz.

WARFARE

The war complex in Lau was closely allied with the ancestor cult and the 726
concept of rank based on mana. Informants agree that warfare and fortified villages were introduced into Lau by the immigrants who formed the chiefs' phratry. It is said that before the migration from Viti Levu, the land people lived peacefully together in scattered hamlets. A state of tension grew out of the keen interclan and intervillage rivalry for prestige, enhanced by the desire for power on the part of the warriors of the ranking noble clans.

Warfare in Lau usually took the form of raids between villages led by
rival war leaders of the chief group. Rivalry often centered around the desire [721]
for women. The attacking party would capture a high ranking woman, perhaps the wife of a chief from another village, and the affront would be met by a counter attack.

Tales of warfare are full of treachery. The object was to outwit the opponent and save one's own skin. To risk one's life was considered stupid. Attacks were usually launched only by forces superior in strength to those of the defendants. Otherwise an attempt was made to lure the leaders into ambush and to attack them singly or in groups.

Great care was taken to insure the success of a raid. The attacking party secured the assistance of relatives. If they planned to attack a village on another island, the warriors used a related village on that island as their landing place, base of supplies, and ally. The priest retired to the temple and propitiated the war god (*kalou ni valu*). He made an offering of kava to
the god and he prayed to the god until he was possessed. He then took the [787]
ceremonial club of the clan and stood it up on the handle in the center of the god house. If the club stood up unsupported he knew that the god had entered the weapons of the warriors and the raid would be successful. If it fell down, the raid would not be successful, and the expedition was abandoned.

Four days before the attack the warriors held a meeting in the village, and the war gong (*lali ni valu*) was sounded. It consisted of a hollow log of
tavola (Terminalia catappa) or *mbuambua (Guettarda speciosa)* wood about [533
1.5 meters long. Two men, each with two sticks, stood on opposite sides of 534]
the gong and beat in unison. The first drummer was called *tau*, the second
vakataungande. The complicated, rhythmic war beat was called *nduki tu a* 726.
lali ni mbakola. During the four days before the raid the men prepared their
weapons. Sexual intercourse and the stealing of property were forbidden 834

726 the warriors during this time. If any man broke the tabu he was obliged to
[834] confess, otherwise the raid would be unsuccessful.

[411] The most important weapons were the club (*i malungu*), the spear (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

712 Fortified villages were built for defense on high points along the ridges of limestone islands or at the summit of volcanic hills. On the limestone islands such villages were protected by a series of walls made of unworked stone which reinforced the natural fortifications and guarded all approaches to the fort. On volcanic islands they were protected by a series of ramparts of earth surmounted in times of war by fences of reeds. Some were surrounded by a moat. Ruins of defense walls, house platforms, and earth works may still be seen.

726 When nearing a village, the attacking party often sang a war chant. Occasionally the raiders set fire to the village. On returning from a raid, whether successful or not, the warriors took kava to the god house and pre-
727 sented it ceremonially to the priest. When victorious warriors returned to their own village with slain or captured enemies, they called out the titles of their weapons. All the men went to the chief's house and sang the song of victory (*thimbi*), ending with a yell. Meanwhile the war gong was beaten outside. If the leader or "strong man" of the enemy had been killed his head
[578] and penis were tied to a stick in front of the village or sent back to the defeated village as a gross insult.

727 Then followed the feast of life (*i mburua ni mbula*), at which the bodies (*mbakola*) of enemies were eaten. If the leader of the enemy had been
266 captured he was eaten. Other men and women were chosen because they were soft, young, and fat. This war feast was the concrete expression of victory. The bodies were eaten for revenge, to show the superiority of the conquerors over the vanquished and to secure mana from the enemy. The bodies were
[252] steamed whole in a large earth oven (*lovo ni mbakola*), and pigs and vegetable foods were also steamed for the feast. When all was ready the bodies were cut up and all the food was placed in baskets and set down outside the god house by the youngest men of the clan under the direction of the chief of crops. The priest in the god house was informed that the feast was ready. He presented it to the war god before the food was distributed. Special parts were served to the chief. Informants did not know, however, which parts these were. Each household took a share home, and the human flesh was consumed by the whole village—men, women, and children.

After an unsuccessful raid a death feast (*i mburua ni mate*) was held.

431 A village might appease the anger of a chief or of another village over
728 some transgression, such as the stealing of a woman, by the ceremonial

presentation of a gift of atonement (*i soro*). The gift might be whales' teeth, land, or a woman. 431 728

The following war tale was told by Moto of Undu: 726 539

> The Undu people were at war with Tokalau and Lomatchi. The strongest man from Lomatchi, called Tute, was leading the Tokalau and Lomatchi men. The Undu people said, "If you who are related to us spear us, why not also spear the Tokalau people?" Then Tute turned and speared the strongest of the Tokalau men. Before he speared him he said, "Taipioloa" (I am going to be your enemy). All the rest of the men from Tokalau ran away.

RELIGION

CULT OF THE LAND PEOPLE

There was a marked difference between the beliefs and practices of the land people and the chiefs' group in Lau. The land people retained their beliefs and individuality in spite of the dominance of the immigrants. 173 [184]

The most detailed information regarding the beliefs of the land people was obtained on Kambara. The land people of Kambara formerly believed they originated from the *ngingia* tree. They were the fruit of the *ngingia (vua ni ngingia)* and it was their forefather (*vu*). When the missionaries came they made fun of the land people for believing they were the fruit of the *ngingia* tree because this tree bears no fruit, but the land people insisted they were the fruit or offspring of the tree. Natives say there is only one *ngingia* tree on Kambara. The tree is called by the title Vu (Forefather). It grows near the beach north of Undu, the stronghold of the land people. It is kept free of underbrush and the men of Undu still offer ceremonial food and kava there in times of distress. The rite was last performed a few years ago when a severe drought threatened the island food supply.

Mosesi, a very old informant who was born on the recently deserted island of Wangava, said that the Wangava land people, who are closely related to the Kambara land people, originated in the *ngingia* tree just as the Kambarans did.

The forefather of the Kambara land people is incarnated in the red shark (*nggio ndamundamu*). It is the *wanggawangga ni vu* (canoe or vessel of the forefather). The red shark is the guardian of the land people. Its title is Tui Natakala or Ratu. A member of this group may not kill, harm, or eat it. The red shark is still propitiated by the land people with offerings on the beach or on a canoe at sea and its appearance is considered a good omen. 173 825

The red rooster (*toa kula*) is the emblem of the Kambara land people, and it symbolizes power and strength. Its title is Kula. Formerly the land people were forbidden to kill or eat it.

The following information regarding the origin of the land people was obtained on other islands visited. 173

173 The land people of Fulanga believed they originated from a hen, according
825 to a tale recorded on Fulanga:

> A hen had many chicks and no food. She said to the chicks, "Why don't you scratch?" The chicks who were very hungry began to scratch, and they scratched the bottom out of the land in many places. The chicks are the people of Fulanga and the land is called Vanua Seu (Scratched Land).

173 On Mothe the land people are called Vuata Ivi (Fruit of the Tahitian
Chestnut). The *ivi* tree is still sacred to them. To cut it down, to cut off a
824 branch or a leaf, or to injure it in any way was formerly tabu. The fruit,
however, was picked and the first fruits offered to the priest. The remainder
173 of the crop was eaten by the people. The *sokula* (a kind of shark) was tabu
to the Mothe land people. If the *sokula* is seen today the Mothe people say,
825 "That is our shark." Informants say that the *sokula* is given offerings of kava and food. According to one story, the *sokula* became sacred to Mothe when Andi Mailangi, a woman from Taveuni, married a Mothe man and went to Mothe. The bird of the Mothe land people is the *taisini,* a large hawk.

173 Namuka natives say that long before the recent settlement of Namuka by
immigrants from Undu, the island was inhabited by people who had their own
771 forefather (*vu*) in the form of a white dog. This dog had children who were the aborigines of Namuka. The group was exterminated, and later land people from Kambara settled on the island. The *mbalembale* (a large fish), is the fish of the land (*ika ni vanua*). It is called Wangga Namuka (Canoe of Namuka). Formerly, when outside the reef the Namukans would call, "Wangga Namuka" and the *mbalembale* would hear and come to receive offerings of kava, food, and wreaths. Today the Namukans are the only Lauans who have lost the art of sailing outside the reef. The following tale is told on Namuka:

> One day the people wanted something to eat with the bananas they were roasting, so a man went to dive for shellfish and was drowned. A second man went for shellfish and drowned. A third and fourth man drowned in the same way. The souls of these men entered the *mbalembale* and since that time the *mbalembale* has been the "fish of the land."

I have concluded from the above that the land people of each island possessed true totems in the form of a local species of plant or animal. The group believed in its descent from the totem which was sacred to it.

The totem was incarnated in a species of large fish called its *wangga* (canoe) and also in a species of bird which was the emblem of the group. The totem and its incarnations were sacred to the group. They were propitiated with offerings by the group and protected by tabus which forbade members of the group to kill, eat or harm them. They believed the appearance of a member of the species which incarnated a totem to be a good omen.

The land people believed not only in a local origin but also in a local abode of the dead (p. 116). 173

The natives say each hamlet of the land people had its own spiritual beings (*kalou vu*). The names of most of the hamlet gods have been lost, but the following information regarding them was obtained. When the hamlets consolidated into villages these gods became clan gods. 776

The hamlet god of Matasoata, Undu, was Tutumatua. He was never a man and he is now called a devil (*tevoro*). His sacred place was Nggara Loka, about 50 meters south of Undu at the base of the cliff.

The hamlet gods of Tonganiuthi, Undu, were two females called Iri Mbuli; they were spirits, not ghosts. Their god house was called Tonganiuthi.

The hamlet god of Nanggara, which was formerly associated with the Undu group but moved to the Nggalinggali group after the arrival of the immigrants, was Mberawalaki. He was never a man. Mberawalaki is called the forefather of Kambara, and Nanggara is the ranking clan of the land group on Kambara. Later Tapaso became the god of Nanggara. Tapaso came from Tonga and seems to have been a ghost.

Tonga of Undu tells the following tale about Tapaso:

> A child was born into the Nanggara clan while the clan was living in a banana grove. The bananas were ripe, but the clan did not take the first fruits to the god. Instead they kept them for the birth feast of the child. Tapaso knew what they had done and said the child must die, and the child did die. The clan knew that the child had died because the people had not presented the first fruits to the god. The breadfruit was also ripe and the members of the clan met in a house to discuss the breadfruit. They did not want to take the first breadfruit to the god, so they cut only the lower ends of the fruit and gave them to him. Tapaso, however, knew that the first fruits of the breadfruit had not been brought to him. Some of the clan men decided to go sailing. Tapaso knew this also. He entered a shark, went to sea, and took one leg from each sailor because of their failure to bring him the breadfruit. The men on land knew that Tapaso was angry. They went to the god house and beat the priest, striking him on the head until blood flowed. The priest left the god house and went to the shore. When blood covered his eyes he bathed in the sea. The place in the lagoon where he bathed is now deep although it is near the shore. He came to another place and bathed again because blood covered his eyes. This place is also deep. He continued his journey, reached the village of Lomatchi and bathed again. Then he went to the bush, leaned against a tree and talked to himself. This place is called Numbaravi (Leaning Against a Tree). Then he went to the god house. 776 539

Another tale about Tapaso, recorded on Kambara, follows:

> One day when Tapaso was very hungry he saw a mother carrying a child. He sang: "Sumolu a thava so ka vei kau yaki tou? Tawa kau mai mei, Sumolu" (What are you carrying there? Fix it for me, Sumolu). The child was given to him and he ate it.

On Fulanga the hamlet god of Nasava (formerly associated with Muanaira, now with the Muanaithake group) was Ronggoua or Ronggoniua. His sacred place was a god house called *mburc ni kalou Nasava*. 776

776 The hamlet god of Nggilo (Muanaira group) was Mainggilo.

All the hamlet gods mentioned above, except Tapaso, god of Nanggara, recently introduced from Tonga, are spirits which have never lived on earth, rather than ghosts. Besides Nanggara, at least two ranking clans of the land group have ghosts rather than spirits as gods. These are Kamali (p. 111) of Mothe and Vunikoro (p. 111) of Fulanga. It is probable that through contact with the immigrants recently introduced ancestor gods have superseded the old spiritual beings of these groups. Whether all the gods of the early inhabitants were spirits is not known. It is probable, however, that the land people like many Melanesian groups, emphasized the worship of spirits rather than ghosts, while the immigrants, with their highly developed, Polynesian-like ancestor cult, worshipped ghosts almost exclusively.

778 [782] In times of trouble such as a drought or hurricane the land people worshipped at sacred places (*na sava*) such as sacred caves (*nggara kalou*), sacred stones, and sacred trees, such as the *ngingia* on Kambara. I found no evidence of the presence of god houses (*mbure kalou*, p. 112) before the advent of the chiefs' group.

The main sacred cave of the Kambara land group is the Nggara Kalou (Cave of the God), located in the bush near Undu. In the cave are conch shells sacred to the *kalou*, god of the land people. Concerning the *kalou*, Moto of Undu stated:

> The highest spiritual being of the land people was the *kalou*. He was the source of all mana and as such was worshipped by the land people. Mana was the *kalou* expressed. He was not confined to any one place. He moved about like a mist in the jungle or over the sea. He could not be touched because he had no body. He had never lived on earth nor had human form. He could be contacted most easily in Nggara Kalou (Cave of the Spirit), located near Undu in the bush. The soul (*yalo*) of the *kalou* entered the conch shells in Nggara Kalou. The priest (*mbete*) was the intermediary for the people and the *kalou* and he alone entered the Nggara Kalou. There he prayed for mana and presented offerings received from the people.

Moto's statement may be colored by Christian teachings.

Another sacred cave of the Kambara land group is called Nggara ni Tambua (literally, Cave of the Whale's Tooth). It is located in the bush between Undu and Lomatchi. Informants say that only two men now living have entered it. Its god is said to be nameless, but one of his titles is Tambua Levu. Informants say that Nggara ni Tambua is a title belonging to the island of Kambara. They explain that the whale's tooth represents wealth in Lau and before the introduction of manioc, sweet potato, and other cultivated plants, Kambara was a "cave of wealth" because her timber and fruit trees made her rich in natural resources.

There is a sacred cave on Fulanga called Ndromo ni Tambua. It belongs to the Vandravandra clan.

Conch shells (*ndavui*) were kept in the sacred caves. When propitiated by 778
the priest the god entered the shells. They were then blown by the priest and
the blast was considered to be the voice of the god. Moto says that when he [534]
was a young man, the land people on Kambara went with the priest to a sacred cave during a drought. After they performed a kava ceremony outside the cave the priest entered and prayed. When he blew the conch shell in the cave the people know he had contacted the god.

Offerings were formerly presented at a sacred stone called Kaloui, found in the hamlet site of Toka, southwest of Naivindamu on the shore of the Fulanga lagoon. It consists of an almost cylindrical block of unworked limestone, about 60 cm. high and with a diameter of 35 cm., set on a pile of stone about 30 cm. high. The natives of Naivindamu say the stone contains mana.

Near the site of Onemata on Kambara lies a block of limestone which projects about one meter out of the ground. Here the natives say a man, who is now an ancestor god, entered the stone. The place is sacred.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP

769
The ancestor cult was introduced into Lau by the group of immigrants 618
who founded the chiefs' phratry. It has become the keynote of Lauan religion.
The pattern of ranked clans of the upper class was reflected in a celestial [771]
hierarchy of ancestral gods. Ndengei, the snake god of Viti Levu, was the [177]
most powerful forefather, because he was the originator of the group. Then came the forefather gods of each noble clan in order of rank which was originally determined by success in warfare. The ancestor gods were war
gods, the ghosts of famous warriors. They were propitiated to gain mana [182]
for enhancing social prestige, and their eventual rank in the celestial hierarchy depended upon their mana-bestowing powers as reflected in the successes and failures of their clans.

The concept of mana associated with the ancestor cult is strong in the 769
native pattern of thought. According to this concept mana is the vital force
or potency which gives superhuman significance to persons or things: to human 778
beings, animals, plants or inanimate objects. Its presence in a person or thing 618
is not attributed to power inherent in the thing itself but to some spiritual force lodging in it. The spiritual force is frequently one of the beings who peopled the superhuman world of the Lauans before the advent of Christianity. The most powerful of these beings were the ancestor gods.

The first-born of each noble clan was the temporary repository of the mana of the clan's ancestral forefathers. The chiefs had the strongest forefathers and the high chief was most sacred because theoretically he received mana from the most powerful ancestor gods.

The ancestor gods of each noble clan were incarnated in from one to three

769 species of natural phenomena, that is trees, fish, and birds. At least half of the
clans studied claimed possession of three species: a species of fish, bird, and
778 tree. The remainder of the clans claimed one or two species, or said they
618 had forgotten their species. Each species was regarded as clan property,
sacred to the owners and respected by members of other clans. The natives
believed that the soul (*yalo*) of the clan ancestor god appeared in the form
of a specific fish or bird of the species owned by the clan. Therefore members
[262] of the clan must not harm a member of the clan species. Informants agree
that eating one would be like eating one of themselves and would cause the
person doing so to become ill and die. They must propitiate the incarnation
with offerings of food and kava. It is difficult to obtain information concerning clan animals and plants because many customs concerning them are no
[552] longer strictly observed. Moreover, there is a tabu on their names. The
generic name of the species belonging to a clan may not be uttered by members
of another clan in the presence of the owners. Formerly if a member of
another clan mentioned the names of a clan's incarnations in the presence of
the owners he was eaten by them. However, each clan species has a title
which is not tabu.

The main forefather of the Vuanikathu clan on Kambara was Lekutu Levu (Big Bush), a war god, formerly worshipped by the clan priest in the temple called Nai Langa Mbakola. He was propitiated with human sacrifices in the form of *mbakola* (human bodies to be eaten), with kava and first fruits. Lekutu Levu was consulted by the priest before a clan raid. The Vuanikathu
[726 539] warriors, when threatening to attack a village, would sing:

Sa vura ko Lekutu Levu!	The people of Lekutu Levu are coming!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!

The god of the Vuanikathu clan was incarnated in the *mavinda (Erythrospermum polyandrum)* tree, the barracuda (*ongo*), and the *kaisevou* (a yellow-breasted bird). On Kambara the *mavinda* tree grows only at Longa Mavinda in the bush behind Naikeleanga on land belonging to the Vuanikathu clan. Vuanikathu keeps the land clear under the trees. The *mavinda* does not bear edible fruit but its fragrant flowers may not be picked or worn in wreaths. Even today a member of Vuanikathu may not catch or eat a barracuda. The clan members formerly prayed to the barracuda, not in the god house, but in the dwelling house. *Kaisevou* birds are caught by clan members, rubbed with a piece of barkcloth soaked in perfumed coconut oil and then released. The bird does not nest on Kambara today, but it occasionally comes from the neighboring island of Wangava, where it is common.

The forefather of Mbutonikoro clan of the chiefs' group on Mothe, according to the clan headman, was Ului Lakemba who came to the island six

generations ago and founded the clan. The main gods of the clan, however, 769
were those of the Vatuwangga clan at Lakemba from whom Ului Lakemba 778
was descended (p. 38; table 2). The gods of Mbutonikoro were incarnated in
the *thau* tree, the *kanathe* fish, and the *tchilio* bird. The slogan of the clan 618
was "Kana kana kalou" (*kana*, food; *kalou*, god).

The chief priest on Mothe belonged to the Kamali clan. The foundation of the principal god house, located on the old Kamali hamlet site in west Mothe, may still be seen. It is surrounded by sweet smelling plants. It is still regarded as a sacred place, and as they approach it the Mothe people become silent and remove their turbans and ornaments. The god of Kamali was incarnated in the scaled shark (*nggio thave*), the *vivili*, and the *matamila* fish which were tabu to Kamali. Members of the clan think that the *kaisevou* bird, which is common on Mothe, used to be tabu also. The principal forefather of Kamali is not known but the clan genealogy is traced seven generations back to the priest Mirakilangi. Other priests in the clan pedigree are Malanamailangi, Wanggathiri, Ndolosambau, and Mbatchimalungu.

The main forefather of the Vunikoro clan on Fulanga was called Rokoratu. He built the fortified village of Unduundu. He was worshipped at Mbure Kalou Levu (The Great Temple), called also Mbure ni Kalou Rokoratu, which was located at the old fortress of Unduundu on the hill behind Muanaithake. He was incarnated in the *ulumburu* fish and the *sewa matua* fish which were formerly tabu to Vunikoro.

The chiefs' group believed that toward the west or northwest lay not only [775]
the land of their origin but also the abode of the dead (p. 118).

I have concluded from the above that in contrast with the land group the [174]
chief group did not possess true totems. They did, however, possess clan ancestor gods which were incarnated in species of natural phenomena.

THE PRIESTHOOD

A hereditary priesthood is associated with ancestor worship in Lau. It was 769
apparently also introduced by the chiefs' group.

Informants say that in the old days the priests outranked the chiefs. 793
According to tales this was so at the time of the Ndaunisai migration. The following tale, common in Lau, records the division of power between the priests and chiefs:

> Nggileso, the chief priest, had two sons, Nggoma and Ndelaivungalei. Nggoma 769
> succeeded Nggileso and sent Ndelaivungalei to Naiau for mats to use in the god house. 793
> Ndelaivungalei secured the mats but he remained on Naiau and became chief. He had
> a son named Niumataiwalu and a daughter. Nggoma had two sons. When they reached 539
> maturity they were sent to their uncle on Naiau for mats. Nggoma's sons disliked Ndelaivungalei and on the way to Naiau they planned to kill him. They were received at Naiau, and the chief of Naiau asked them for ingredients for a pudding to eat at

769 793 539 a feast to mark his daughter's nubility. They killed him and his daughter. At this time Niumataiwalu was at Vuna, not on Naiau. The chief of Vuna asked Niumataiwalu to carry a message to Mbau by canoe. He went to Mbau but did not go ashore with the message. At this time Andi ni Levuka, wife of the chief of Mbau, became pregnant by Niumataiwalu. She begged the chief to be allowed to go to Nairai in order to superintend the making of coconut oil. She landed in Nairai and Niumataiwalu proceeded in his canoe to Totoya, where he heard about the murder of his father and sister. The sons of Nggoma had returned to Lakemba. Niumataiwalu immediately returned to Naiau and became successor to his father. For revenge he went to Navutoka. He was met by his cousins. They fell upon each other and Nggoma and his family were killed. Now Niumataiwalu was by power and birth the successor to Nggoma, but he did not take the title of priest. He was the first *sau*, the chief of Lakemba, and the chief of Naiau.

(For a variant of this tale see Hennings, 12, pp. 33-37.)

769 793 After the coming of the chiefs' phratry, control was divided between the priests and the chiefs. Each ranking island had a principal priest clan. The title of the priest (*mbete*) descended by primogeniture from father to eldest son in the first-born line of the priest clan. The priests were the seers who directed the spiritual affairs of the group, while the chiefs were the war leaders. After the Tongan conquest and the introduction of Christianity, the power of the chiefs increased and the title of priest became honorary. First fruits were presented to the chief instead of to the priest. The priest of Mothe, who is the headman of Kamali clan, installs the chief of Mothe today. However, on Kambara and on Fulanga, the only islands visited besides Mothe where the island chief presides over more than one village, the chief is installed by the herald.

The priest had charge of the worship of a clan's ancestor gods (*kalou vu*). He was the intermediary for the people and the god. Since he was influential in securing mana from the god, he was feared and respected. He controlled the activities of the people in warfare, in times of famine, and in sickness, receiving offerings from the people and presenting them to the god according to the *sevusevu* ceremonial pattern (pp. 65-66).

782 Offerings were made by the people to obtain mana which would insure the success of clan activities and avoid trouble. The principal offerings were first fruits, kava, and cooked feasts, including human sacrifices. As a small offering wreaths were presented.

The priest prayed to the god, who presently took possession of him and spoke through him or revealed his will to him by means of a sign or omen. According to Fison (8, pp. 166-167), when a priest was possessed his whole body shook in convulsions and his flesh twitched. After the ceremony the priest and his clan consumed the sacred offerings.

THE GOD HOUSE

769 778 346 Each priest had charge of a god house (*mbure kalou*), a sanctuary where the ancestor god was worshipped. It was a hut built on a high mound flanked

769 778 346 with limestone or basalt. Each clan had a god house. According to Moto of Undu, the ground plan of the mound as well as the building of the god house belonging to Matasoata clan was oval in shape and about one fathom wide. A curved wall plate (*i lolo*) was not made of joined sections (as in the modern Tongan dwelling house, p. 165), but of several bowed rods (as in the *vale lolova kathukathu*, p. 171). The roof was gabled. God house sites at Lomatchi gardens on Kambara and at Kamali on Mothe also show oval foundation mounds. Outside the god house grew sweet smelling plants which informants say facilitated spiritual contacts and meditation. Fragrance is frequently used for this purpose in Lau, especially in the form of a wreath or powdered sandalwood.

769 778 A temple frequently contained one or more ceremonial clubs, which were slightly smaller and shorter than an ordinary throwing club (*i kolo*) and were elaborately decorated with incised carving accentuated with lime. The ancestor god entered the ceremonial clubs, making them sacred. Other weapons belonging to the clan were kept in the clan temple. The weapons of each clan had a title. Those of Matasoata were called Toa Kula, those of Tonganiuthi, Iri Mbuli. Before a raid the priest prayed over the clan weapons and, if the god was willing, his mana entered them and the clan was victorious. If the god did not enter the weapons the people were defeated because the god of the enemy was stronger.

God houses as well as sacred caves (pp. 108-109) and natural objects such as stones or trees in which the god dwelt were called *na sava* (meaning the sacred or purified).

PURIFICATION

769 783 Everything directly connected with the gods was sacred, pure, and free from the profane. Everything which was directly connected with women's loss of blood—the menses, first intercourse, pregnancy, and birth—was profane and impure. Sickness and circumcision were profane.

[834] Ritual purification was necessary in Lau before contact with the sacred and after contact with the profane. Purification was accomplished by means of water or smoke. The usual purification pattern was the four-day tabu, lifted by a bath (*i silisili*) in the sea. Moto said that formerly it was observed after killing in war (*veivaluvaluti*) and after murder in peace time (*veivakamatei*). The priest, the only human being possessed by the god, purified himself before approaching the god by a ritual bath in the temple. One tale relates how the priest of Tonganiuthi clan was killed by his own people while bathing because he had been angry when the people failed to bring the first fruits to the god house. Warriors prepared themselves to carry the sacred weapons by abstinence from sexual intercourse for four nights immediately before the raid. Women still bathe in the sea according to the old pattern

769 after first intercourse at marriage, at the pregnancy ceremony, and after child-
birth; boys do so after circumcision; and both sexes do so after an illness.
783 Smoke is used to protect a turtle net against the pernicious influence of the
glance or touch of a pregnant or a menstruating woman.

THE DOUBLE SOUL

774 The superhuman world of the Lauan is peopled not only by spirits and ancestor ghosts but also by the disembodied souls of the living. These disembodied souls are still just as real to them as humans. They appear at any time of day or night, frequently in human form, but also in the form of animals, fish, or birds. Some are friendly and aid them in life, others are hostile and greatly feared.

Each human being has two souls, a good soul (*yalo vinaka*) and a bad soul (*yalo tha*). The bad soul occasionally leaves the body of a living being, who remains unaware of its absence, and wanders about playing tricks on unsuspecting human victims. Such a bad soul appears in the physical form of the human being to whom it belongs, and can be identified only by its ability to vanish. The victim mistakes the bad soul for its owner and is lured into danger or death. For instance, Ndakai was walking down a rocky path on Kambara. He met a man and began to talk to him. Ndakai fell and broke his leg. He looked around but the man had vanished, so Ndakai knew that he had been talking to the man's bad soul, which had caused him to slip.

[761] Illness is often due to the absence of the good soul. If it returns the patient
recovers, otherwise he dies (23, p. 128). When a person dies his good soul
774 goes to Nai Thimbathimba where it starts on the journey to the abode of the
775 dead (pp. 114-115). His bad soul frequently remains, at least for a short time,
near his home on earth and frightens human being.

ABODE OF THE DEAD

775 There are conflicting beliefs concerning the destiny and abode of the soul (*yalo*) after death. The dominant belief, introduced by the chiefs' group, is that when a man dies his soul goes to Nai Thimbathimba, a "jumping-off" place found on or near each island, usually facing the west or northwest. From here the soul goes to Nai Thombothombo, the land of souls, (*vanua ni yalo*) located on the Mbua coast, Vanua Levu (fig. 1). The natives say that a person near Nai Thombothombo cannot sleep or hear his own voice because of the noise.

Nai Thimbathimba of the Kambara and Wangava people is a high rock located on the west point of Wangava (fig. 2, 17). There the souls call for a wave which transports them to Nai Thombothombo.

Thimbathimba of Fulanga is at Vatu Iri, a rock on the beach south of Muanaithake. There the soul stands on the sand near the rock, and if he is of the chief group he calls, "Lele mai na mua vesi" (Carry me home, canoe of hardwood)! A noble calls for a canoe of greenheart because on earth he has used the chiefly canoe of the dark wood of the greenheart. Then a hardwood canoe in the form of a dark wave comes and carries the soul to Nai Thombothombo. A soul from the lower class also goes to Nai Thimbathimba, but he calls, "Lele mai na mua uto" (Carry me home, canoe of soft wood)! A commoner calls for a canoe of soft wood because he has used such a canoe on earth. Breadfruit (*uto*) is a light-colored, soft wood. A canoe made of soft wood in the form of a light wave comes and takes the commoner's soul to Nai Thombothombo. As the soul departs the widow of the deceased sees the smooth trail of the canoe and pours oil onto the water.

Kalo of Fulanga, who belongs to the sea people, says that souls from Muanaithake village go to Tetesawa, a rock at the end of the beach. From there they jump into the water. A smooth water path forms between the waves so that the soul can pass on the same day through Salia (fig. 2, 42), the passage at the main entrance to the Fulanga lagoon. Kalo does not know where the soul goes afterward but assumes that it enters a fish or something that lives in the water.

Nai Thimbathimba of Ongea is located at a place named Lau on the northwest end of Ongea Levu (fig. 2, 45). Informants on Ongea say that formerly footprints of a man or marks of a crawling child could be seen in the sand there after a death, but they do not know where the souls go from Thimbathimba.

Nai Thimbathimba of the Namuka people is a tree which leans over the lagoon from a small island about 500 meters from the village (fig. 2, 27). From the tree the souls leap into the water and onto a wave. Each time a soul leaves a small branch of the tree withers, so that sailors returning from a long journey know how many Namukans have died in their absence.

Nai Thimbathimba of Mothe is a *sinu* tree in Vanganduku. From there the souls go elsewhere but their destination is not known.

Ono has two Nai Thimbathimbas, one for the souls of the villages of Lovoni and Nakui and one for souls of the villages of Marakawa and Ndoi. Natives say the souls of the first two go to Tuvana-i-tholo, a small island, and from there they go to Mbutundromu, which was later called Mburotu; the souls of the last two go to the island of Tuvana-i-ra and thence to Mburotu.

The legend of Mburotu, an island paradise or land of the dead, located under the sea and filled with beautiful women, is common in Lau. The belief in an island paradise is apparently unrelated to the beliefs of either the early

775 inhabitants or the immigrants in Lau. Similar concepts are found, however, in Tonga and other neighboring parts of Polynesia.

The Kambara people say that Mburotu is an island situated between Ono and Matuku. In olden days it was above the water but now it is submerged. The trees, like everything else on this island, are red so it is called Mburotu Kula (Red Mburotu). The island is inhabited by beautiful women so it is called *vanua ni alewa* (land of women). They are clean and light skinned like Tongans and Samoans. The women are spirits who never die. Many men have tried in vain to find Mburotu. In olden days Kumbunavanua, a chief, lived on the island. He had two canoes. He went to Totoya in one while his two sons went in the other to Moala. When Kumbunavanua left Mburotu the island disappeared.

The land people believed in a local abode of the soul after death. According to Moto of Undu, when a man of the Kambaran lower class died his soul went with a hissing sound to Nggara Levu (Big Cave), a burial cave located near the *ngingia* tree. Nggara Levu is the abode of the souls of the early inhabitants. The following tale is told:

> When Ramatau, a man of the lower class who lived near Lomatchi, died he said, "Take me to Nggara Levu." The people took him to the beach and decided to bury him there, but he said from beneath his cover, "This is not Nggara Levu." So they took him to Vatoa because Nggara Levu was far from Lomatchi. At Vatoa he said again, "This is not Nggara Levu." So finally they took him to Nggara Levu.

Moto says he has heard that the souls of the land people went from Nggara Levu to the highest rock on the reef, which is shaped like the roof of a house. He has not heard whether or not the souls of the land people go to Mburotu, but he says that this rock faces Mburotu and is connected with it by means of a submarine coral formation.

SECRET SOCIETIES

Nanga

575 Moto says that the commoners of Kambara formerly had a secret society called Nanga, which was "very, very old" and had ceased to exist before his time. All Moto knew about it was that it was secret and that it existed before the migration from Viti Levu to Lau. No other information regarding the Nanga in Lau was obtained.

A secret society called Nanga was formerly found in a limited area in central and western Viti Levu. According to Fison (7, pp. 14-30) the Nanga was a secret society consisting of three age groups, into which all the males of the community were initiated. The purpose of the society was induction of the grown men into full tribal membership. The rites took place in a sacred rectangular stone enclosure and consisted of offerings to ancestral spirits, circumcision, ordeals, dancing, license, and distribution of wealth. In 1884 the Nanga ceremonies were no longer performed. 575

Moto's is the only known evidence of the occurrence of the Nanga outside the area mapped by Fison. No stone enclosures such as those described by Fison were found in Lau. (For further information concerning the Nanga see Brewster, 1, pp. 93-95.) [349]

LUVE NI WAI

The Luve ni Wai (Offspring of the Water) is a secret cult found in many parts of Fiji. (See Brewster, 1, pp. 89, 222-225; Williams, 27, vol. 1, pp. 237-239.) It is one medium by which individuals, disgruntled at the new social order, can gain social prestige in the community. The colonial government has attempted to suppress the cult, hence the natives usually deny knowledge of it. One form of the cult is practiced today in southern Lau. A few informants gave the following account of it. [557] [648]

> The cult consists of a few young men, each of whom has demonstrated his ability to procure and hold a personal guardian god who supplies him with mana. The mana is expressed in the form of a special gift, such as the ability to create new dance forms or medicines, to predict the future, interpret the past, or discover new members for the cult. The guardian gods called *luve ni wai* are usually the ghosts of departed ancestors, not spirits, and are today called "devils." [778] 776 575

Some informants say they dwell in and near the water, others say they live on land, in water, stars, sky, in fish and trees. Ndengei, Tutumatua, Ndauthina, Ndakuwangga, Rayawa, and Vuthurongayau are important *luve ni wai*.

The following tale is told about Ndakuwangga, the shark god, who became a *luve ni wai*:

> Ndaunisai was the father of Wangganouanoua, who came with Ndaunisai from Viti Levu to Kambara. Wangganouanoua went to Mbenau Island at Taveuni. When the people of the island were hauling a canoe from the shore to the water, Wangganouanoua hid in a hollow tree trunk because he wanted to show the people he was a god. While the god was in the tree trunk, it was used as a roller for the canoe. When Wangganouanoua went aboard the canoe and told the men he had been inside the hollow trunk, they called him Ndakuwangga. He entered a shark. The people began to pray to this god of the shark and called it *luve ni wai* because it was from the water. Since then the shark had been tabu to the Taveuni people. The Kambara people do not eat the shark because the father of this *luve ni wai* came to Kambara.

According to informants, Luve ni Wai rites are carried on secretly in the bush at night. The leader and the members of the cult oil their bodies and dress in ceremonial tapa and wreaths. They take kava to the bush, sit in a kava circle, and prepare the drink ceremonially. The first cup is poured on the ground as an offering to the gods. The leader drinks first. The men call the gods by means of prayers. When the gods come, each enters and possesses his votary. While possessed, the men are insensitive to physical pain. They jump, dance, and club one another. 575 [785]

575 jump, dance, and club one another. While in this state they receive mana in the form of inspiration from their guardians.

Each member is a specialist in some skill and has a guardian of his own whose name he bears. A creator of a new dance form receives them from the god of the dance (*meke*); a medicine man receives new medicines from [776 the god of medicine. The membership of the cult is controlled by a god named Rayawa. When propitiated with kava, Rayawa reveals the names of 782 new members. The man who discovers new members for the cult has Rayawa for his god.

The leader of the cult on each island is called the originator of the bamboo (*vuninduvu*), for, as the oldest bamboo is surrounded by many shoots, so the leader is surrounded by many members. He has the strongest guardian and the most mana. Every new member must make a ceremonial offering of kava to the leader. If the leader is challenged, a contest is arranged during the Luve ni Wai rites and the member who is least vulnerable, and therefore has the most powerful god, wins and takes the leadership.

[782] Native informants say that a Luve ni Wai member occasionally propitiates his guardian by leaving a bowl of kava in the bush. When he returns, not the next day perhaps but certainly after a few days, the kava has disappeared from the bowl.

575 195 538 Informants say that in olden days Luve ni Wai members had their own idiom which could not be understood by the people. These old *meke* (chants) are difficult to translate, but, when one examines them one sees that poetic license and figures of speech rather than actual vocabulary differences set them apart from modern *meke*. However, many words which appear in the old *meke* cannot be translated by the natives today. The old Luve ni Wai *meke* are lyric poetry, highly subjective, in contrast to the more recent ones, which are definitely realistic.

575 539 The following *meke*, which are not understood by present natives, are said to be in Luve ni Wai idiom:

Nai wau (club dance) chanted by Tatchini of Kambara

(Drum beats—small *lali ni meke* type)

Na vatu manawa, na vua i rama	The floating stones, the fruits of light
Yau talatala, vakaselotaki mana wangga	The murmuring breeze, welcoming the wonderful canoes
Tambu wangga ko ira na kai Mathuata,	Chiefly canoes, they are the people of Mathuata,
Laki kele sara i matamatana.	About to anchor at the mouth of the passage.

(Drum beats)

Na wesi (spear dance) chanted by Tatchini of Kambara 575

Takiva na ika ni wai ndrondro,	They catch the fish in the current,	539
Kithoka na ika somi lolo,	They spear the fish at high tide,	
Ndua a theva urea mo.	A southeast wind begins to blow.	
E sa urea sa lutu koto.	When it blows there is no chance (to fish).	
Raunama nongguo.	The fishermen turn homeward.	
Kena wai tambu nda vakarorongo,	The sea becomes still,	
E tumbu a tha kau nggai ndrondro.	Then it swells as I go back (to the beach).	
E ruru a tha kau sunggai koto.	So I go home and the storm abates.	
Koi au a wai vuni rongorongo.	I listen to the secret of the sea.	

Volau, a *meke* master of Namuka, creates new dances of the following 575
types: *seasea, vakamalolo, meke ni malungu* (club dance), and *meke iri* (fan
dance). He was born on Oneata and his father was born on Matuku, which,
according to the natives, is a *meke* making center. When the people of
Namuka want a new *meke* they present kava to Volau. He accepts the kava
and in the evening it is prepared. On the first or the second evening, while
he is drinking kava, the god comes to him and he expresses the words, the
rhythm, and the movements of a *meke*. He teaches it to the people, who must
learn it quickly because Volau forgets it immediately.

ECONOMIC LIFE

PROPERTY

LAND SCARCITY

Scarcity of fertile soil is a basic factor in the economic life of the south- 311
ern Lau Islands. On the limestone islands the supply of garden land is
fixed and limited. Practically all the garden land that can be profitably culti-
vated is in use. On the volcanic islands, the supply of fertile land exceeds
the demand.

On Kambara all the best land (*nggele ntchina,* true soil) and some of the 241
second grade land has been cleared and is used for gardens. In years of
normal rainfall the supply of garden produce remains more or less constant, 311
and garden production is only slightly below the needs of the population.
New land is rarely cleared because the natives think it will not repay the
effort. They believe that extensive cultivation of more second grade land
might increase production somewhat in years of normal rainfall, but that in
dry years there would be a shortage of food regardless of how much land
was under cultivation. They think that more intensive cultivation, by native
methods, of the land already cleared would increase the yield sufficiently to 241
supply their needs in normal years with less labor and more profit. However,
several factors work against intensive cultivation. First, the dislike which the 311
nobles feel toward work on the land has had an effect upon the whole popula- 461

241 tion. Many men consider garden work arduous and tiresome and spend as little time as possible on their gardens, preferring to spear fish, sail, or do
311 carpenter work, or to do nothing. Others work sporadically. Second, unequal
461 distribution of the garden land reduces the output. Some clans, especially those in the land phratry, own two or three times as much garden land as others. If a clan is rich in land and poor in man power, at least part of its land is neglected through lack of labor, even though some of it is occasionally lent for cultivation to another clan. On Kambara the clans Vuanikathu and Nawi, both of which lack young men, own more land than they use. Matasoata and Tanggu are poor in land. Third, the *kerekere* system (pp. 207-208) discourages conscientious work on the land.

241 The headman of a prominent clan on Kambara owns good garden lands,
461 which he cultivates with great care and patience. His crops are large with a relatively high yield per acre and he always has enough food. His garden produce is constantly solicited by relatives. In fact, the headman's industry has slackened that of his relatives. One day he told me that during the past
[674] three days 20 baskets of sweet potatoes had been stolen from his garden. He knew the thief was a relative but did nothing about it because if the theft were exposed the prestige of the clan would suffer.

Industrious individuals are rare but they enjoy high social prestige. If one member of a clan has a good crop and food is needed for a birth, marriage,
[555] or death feast within the clan, he is expected to contribute the bulk of his produce. If he does not do so, he loses prestige. One young man of Undu had the only yam garden on Kambara and had given it great care. While he was absent from the island toward harvest time, his grandfather died and his clan consumed the yams in the death feast.

On Wangava, claimed by Naivotavota clan, Kambara, only a small part of the best garden land is utilized. The gardens have been deserted because of fear of evil spirits which bring illness. But, aside from this fear, one clan cannot furnish the labor necessary to take full advantage of its natural wealth and other clans hesitate to solicit land on a spirit-infested islet.

On Fulanga, all the land which will yield even a meager crop is under cultivation. All possible garden lands have long been cleared and the supply is fixed. Intensive methods are uniformly employed and production is just about at the maximum under native methods. Garden work is so difficult that every man who harvests a crop must be industrious. Though Fulangans work much harder than their neighbors, part of their food must be collected from the bush and imported. The land situation on Ongea is similar to that on Fulanga except that the food problem is not so acute.

Namuka and Mothe have more than enough food. Only part of the best, fertile land of Mothe is used for gardens, which yield large crops with a

minimum of effort. Little new land is cleared, though clearing land on the 241
forest-free, volcanic islands does not require the labor involved in clearing 461
the thick jungles of the limestone islands.

Land Ownership and Inheritance

A government land commission is engaged in the difficult task of surveying 423 the land in Fiji and establishing native land titles. Fortunately, at the time of my visit the commission had not reached southern Lau and titles to the land had not been disturbed or legalized. However, land ownership is complicated by the changes made in the system of ownership after the Tongan conquest of the chiefdom of Lakemba. Moreover, there is rivalry between some clans regarding land ownership, especially if there is any doubt as to claims. The genealogical method was found invaluable in working out problems of land ownership and inheritance.

The land is divided into three classes: garden land (*nggele*), village land (*yavu*), and bush (*lekutu*). Natural demarcations—trees, rocks, and creeks—are used to define boundaries.

The hamlet system of land ownership (p. 35) is clearly seen on Mothe. The somewhat circular island, rising gradually from the shore lowlands to a central ridge, is divided into pie-shaped sections, extending from the center to the shore. Each section is owned by a clan and bears the same name as the clan. The sections contain hamlet sites, which the natives claim were formerly occupied by the proprietary clans. Even today, although all the clans live in clan-hamlets in the two adjacent villages of Nasau and Korotolu in south Mothe, the old divisions are observed, each clan confining its gardening, collecting, trapping, and fishing to its own section. Each clan also owns its own hamlet site within the village.

Under the Tongan system the garden land and the village lots were owned by the clans, and the bush was free. Fishing rights in the lagoons were divided between the villages adjacent to them. The Tongans did not change the ownership or the names of the garden and village land. The land was measured in fathoms by using a piece of sennit (*mangimangi*). According to informants, a piece of land was called *mangimangi*. For instance, land belonging to the Vuanikathu clan was called *mangimangi ki Vuanikathu*.

The Tongan system may be illustrated by the land division on Kambara. The garden lands of several clans form a geographic unit and every clan division has a name. The clan garden land as a whole has a name. The clan village land forms a unit unless the old division has been obscured by the expansion of the village or the clan. This is also named. The clan land is administered by the clan headman. There is no fixed rule regarding the division of the clan land. It is usually divided between the subclans. Plots

423 tend to remain within the subclan but if it dies out its lands revert to the clan. Every male born within it inherits a right to use part of the clan lands, which are not transferable. Usually he receives his share of land when he marries. However, a bachelor who has his own men's house has his own land. He contributes the produce from his gardens to the group with which he eats. Before receiving his own land a young man works his father's land under his father's supervision.

Often the male *veitathini* (brothers and parallel cousins) of one generation in a subclan work the land jointly under the supervision of the first-born. The land division between *veitathini* is not fixed, but each works a piece with the help of his sons.

423 427 Land ownership is further complicated by the *kerekere* system (pp. 207-208). Unused plots are often borrowed. If a man wants more land he goes either to the clan headman or to an individual who is not using all his land and solicits the use of it. If his request is granted he may be given it in usufruct for a definite or an indefinite length of time. In return he delivers a portion of [177] the crop, called *i thava ni vanua,* as rent to the owner. The natives say that the payment of rent is recent and was introduced by the Tongans.

The only surviving male of the subclan Naitathini of Vuanikathu, Tokalau, is Tchitoko, aged about ten years. Before Tchitoko's father died he appointed Tchuta of Mbete subclan of the same clan as guardian to Tchitoko (*i solosolo i Tchitoko*). The guardian works Tchitoko's land and provides the boy with kilts. He has rented part of the land to Naivotavota clan, Nggalinggali, which presents to the boy part of each harvest as rent. Tchitoko will take over the use of the Naitathini land when he is old enough to work it.

423 To procure the use of land outside his clan, a man turns to his mother's clan. His *vasu* (sister's son) rights do not include appropriation of land without permission. To use a house site in the hamlet of his mother, for instance, a man makes his request to his mother's brother without the ceremonial presentation of property. His mother's brother says, "Please yourself. It's yours. Pick out what you want." If, however, his mother's clan has no suitable site, his mother's clan goes to the clan of his mother's mother for a house site. The natives say that a man may solicit land from a clan to which he is not *vasu* by presenting a whale's tooth with his request, but this is rarely done. In cases of matrilocal residence usufruct often develops into inheritance on the part of the children, who become members of their mother's clan.

Since the bush is free, a man may take timber for houses, canoes, or woodwork from any part of the island. Such timber is called *kathu ni lekutu.* A man does not clear land just anywhere in the bush, although he is allowed [558] to do so. He goes to the bush land of his clan to make his clearing. Natives say that if he does not do so people will talk about him and he will lose face.

The natives collect fruits, and greens, hunt, and set traps only in the bush 423
adjacent to their own villages.

Formerly, besides clearing land, a clan could acquire garden land by mar- 425
riage, war, or by gift from a chief. Occasionally, when a woman of the lower [565]
class married a noble she brought a piece of land to his clan. This was called *sovisovi ni ndraundrau* (place to collect leaves.) The woman was responsible for gathering the daily supply of edible leaves. The land remained in the man's clan unless after his death his children were adopted by their mother's clan, when the land was returned with the children. If the children remained with their father's people, even though the widow went back to her people, the land was kept also. Sotchiana of Rasea clan, Fulanga, married Tchone of Vandravandra and brought a piece of land to her husband's clan. After his death she stayed with his clan and the clan kept the land. Vunise of Sau clan took a piece of land to Vunikoro when she married Lote. The land remained the property of Vunikoro. When Semitchi of Mbete subclan, Kambara, married Kalavu of Lomatchi, she brought a piece of land. Land is no longer acquired in this fashion. If one village conquered another the victors class married a noble she brought a piece of land to his clan. This was called *ka ni mbula* (thing of life). Land was also given by one village to another in return for help in warfare, but it has been several generations since land has changed hands through warfare.

Today a clan may acquire the ownership of new garden land only by clearing bush. Newly cleared land belongs to the man who clears it. This means that it is used by him, his household, and his children. The clan has no right to deprive him of this land, though the land is considered to be the property of the clan. If the land is cleared by the combined labor of a subclan its use belongs to the subclan.

Small, uninhabited islands are also clan owned. The clan claims exclusive 423
ownership of all the land and fishing rights of its island. For example, the Naivotavota clan of Kambara claims ownership of Wangava; clans of Undu village own the island of Marambo; Vuanitavola clan owns the island of Tavunasithi; the islands of the central Fulanga lagoon belong to Nasava and Vandravandra clans and to Muanaira and to Naivindamu villages.

Cultivated fruit trees in the village—such as breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut, banana, and *ndawa*—belong to the man who plants them, and no one but
the owner is allowed to pick the fruit. Fruit trees are inherited from father [428]
to son. If a tabu has been declared on the fruit crop, the owner of the fruit trees is not allowed to pick the fruit until after the first fruits' ceremony.
If the owner's right over the fruit of his trees is not respected he marks them 423
tabu by tying a coconut leaf round the trunk. This is called *tambu*. It serves 674
to check but does not eliminate pilfering of ripe fruit by children during the

423 [674] day and by adults on dark nights. Mango trees are especially molested by trespassers.

On Fulanga each clan owns two trees, a *tarai* and a *mbau*, located in the bush. These trees are called *mbilita* (that is, *mbilita ni matanggali Vunikoro*-*mbilita* of the Vunikoro clan, etc.), and each has a name. They belong exclusively to the proprietary clan and only members of that clan are allowed to pick the fruit. The names of the *tarai* trees belonging to the clans of Muanaithake village are: Tarainanga of Vunikoro; Ulumburu of Rasea; Luvenimbumbu of Vandravandra; Kawakawaloa of Nasava; and Taraimbalavu of Sau. The ground around the *mbilita* is kept free of bush and weeds. A stone circle is built around the *mbau mbilita* and the *mbau* fruits are picked green, thrown into the enclosure, covered with leaves, and allowed to ripen. A ditch, called *ovaova*, is dug around the trunk of the *tarai mbilita* but the fruit is allowed to ripen on the tree. According to the natives, the *mbilita* custom came about in the following way. In olden days when a man found a good *mbau* or *tarai* tree, he cleared the ground around the trunk and the tree became the *mbilita* of his clan or of his household. Today there are no *mbilita* belonging [184] to households. I did not find the *mbilita* custom on other islands. The Kambarans had never heard of it.

Fishing rights are village property. The lagoons of an island are divided by the adjacent villages, and for inhabitants of one village to use the ground of another village without permission means loss of prestige. Fishponds and equipment used in village communal fishing are village property.

Water holes and communally built reservoirs, located in the village, are owned by the village and used by its inhabitants. Water holes located in the bush are usually free. There is a dispute regarding the ownership of Wai Mariko, a fresh water hole near Tokalau, which is claimed by two clans, Vuanitavola and Vuanikathu. The village cemetery belongs to the village but each clan has a lot in it.

MOVEABLE PROPERTY

422 *I yau* is a native classification of property which may be defined as moveable property. The natives are not quite sure just what the term includes. When they speak of *i yau* they think mainly of craft goods such as mats, tapa, woodwork, coconut oil, sennit, and canoes. They say whales' teeth are also *i yau* but usually mention them separately. Pigs, fowl, turtles, and food (*kakana*) are also classed as *i yau* but the natives are not sure whether houses should be included.

422 556 436 The most valuable objects in Lau are whales' teeth. They serve as a means by which wealth may be accumulated, condensed, stored, and exchanged. The value of other objects cannot be expressed in terms of whales' teeth, thus they

cannot be classed as a medium of exchange or true money. They are "valu- 422
ables." (See Tueting, 25, p. 36.) 556

Whales' teeth are used only ceremonially. They are the most important 436
objects of ceremonial exchange. A request accompanied by the ceremonial presentation of a whale's tooth cannot be refused without the loss of a great deal of prestige. Whales' teeth are acquired by chiefs and government officials as tribute from the people, hence the chiefs and the officials possess most of the whales' teeth in Fiji.

According to Mariner (19, p. 302), it formerly was dangerous for a man [177]
other than a chief to possess a whale's tooth. This is not true today. By amassing sufficient wealth a clan or an individual may acquire whales' teeth through ceremonial exchange.

In general, ownership of moveable property is determined by labor. Manu- 422
factured goods such as mats, sennit, coconut oil, and woodwork, made mainly by one individual or household, belong to the maker and are considered the property of the household. By the *kerekere* system (p. 207), however, they may be solicited at any time by the clan to be used for tribute or ceremonial exchanges. Objects which are the result of communal labor (such as houses, canoes, and barkcloth) and are paid for by means of feasts, are considered to be the property of the individual who organized and paid for the labor. The clan has an interest in them, since clan resources were used to make the payments. Other objects of communal industry such as large fishnets, turtle nets, and goods for tribute (canoes, sails, woodwork, mats, and tapa), which are the result of the combined efforts of a whole village, are considered to be village property. Government houses, turtle nets or large fish nets, and boats, made by island or district labor are the property of the district or island.

Personal possessions such as kilts, dance skirts, ornaments, fans, cane knives, baskets, and sleeping mats are the property of the individual but are
always liable to be solicited, unless they are tabu. Designs (*kupetchi*) for [424
rubbing on barkcloth are owned by individual women. They are inherited 428]
from a woman by her daughter. A man's private property is inherited by his sons. If the sons are young, his older brother becomes their guardian unless they are adopted into their mother's clan, in which case their mother's father or older brother becomes the guardian.

INCORPOREAL PROPERTY

Tales (*talanoa*) of clan traditions are owned by the clan and may be told 424
only by the clan headman. The natives say this privilege is accorded to the headman out of respect. Medicines and spells are the property of the individual. They are usually kept secret and handed down from parent to child. I found no privately owned *meke*.

INCARNATIONS

424 Incarnations of clan gods (pp. 109-111) are the exclusive property of the clan and only their titles may be used by members of other clans in the presence of the owners.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

462 Labor is organized by sex, kinship, and locality. The main division of labor by sex is as follows:

MEN	WOMEN
gardening	child care
gathering fruit and fuel for the earth oven	fishing with net and line
fishing with spear and line	gathering greens and fuel for boiling in pots
animal husbandry	preparing and boiling food in pots
preparing and steaming food in the earth oven	mat making
house building	barkcloth making
canoe building	oil making
woodworking	
sailing and trading	

In most villages the larger share of the work falls to the men. Formerly, when the output from women's crafts—such as mats, tapas, oil, and pots—was greater, due to the demands of home consumption and trade now supplied in part by western trade goods, the division of labor was more balanced.

462 The chief economic groups of both sexes are kinship groups. The family
571 and the subclan are the working units which supply the daily food and
its preparation. For labor requiring more workers the clan becomes the unit.
476 In communal undertakings requiring large groups of workers, the clan and
602 the village function as the main economic units.

CALENDAR OF THE YEAR

305 The Lauans formerly measured time by the moon (*vula*). The complete calendar for the year has been lost, but some of the old terms are still in use in southern Lau. The seasons overlap and in general they are about one month later on Fulanga and Ongea than on Kambara because of the difference in climate.

The outstanding time of year is the harvest season when food is plentiful on most of the southern islands. This lasts roughly for five months during the rainy season, December to April. These months are the "ripe fruit" moons (*vulai matua ni vuata*) when most of the cultivated and jungle fruit trees bear, including the Tahitian chestnut, *ndawa, vala,* mango, *nggalaka,* and breadfruit. Breadfruit, the most important fruit crop, has two seasons, March to April and October to November. The Tahitian chestnut is ripe on Kambara between January and March and on Fulanga and Ongea between February and April. The main digging moons (*vulai kelikeli*) are March and April when yams, sweet yams, sweet potatoes, manioc, maize, and other garden products are ripe. The term *vulai kelikeli* is used to denote especially the time of the yam and sweet yam harvest. The sweet potato harvest lasts until about November on some islands and manioc may be cut almost all year round. March is the moon when the leaves dry (*vulai mangomango* or *vulai mbotambota*). 805

The other seven months of the year, which include the dry season, are designated as follows: "clearing" moons (*vulai werewere*) for yams and sweet yams are roughly from May to July and the "planting" moons (*vulai teitei*) for the same crops from June to August. September is the main "sprouting" moon (*vulai tumbutumbu*) and September and October are the "*ndrala* flower" moons (*vulai se ni ndrala*), and the main flowering season. October, the month when the *mbalolo* (p. 136) is expected to appear first, is the moon of "few *mbalolo*" *(vulai mbalolo lailai)* and November, when the large mass of *mbalolo* are expected, is the moon of "many *mbalolo*" *(vulai mbalolo levu)*.

SUBSISTENCE*

By BERNHARD TUETING

FOOD GATHERING

The gathering of food from the bush is considered indispensable everywhere in Lau, because dry years are frequent. But in years with normal rainfall most households produce enough garden foods. Households with little land or with few or indolent young men depend more upon gathering food than do more fortunate households. Most households of the Vuanikathu clan in Tokalau, Kambara, must collect food because they neglect their garden land. Vuanitavola clan in the same village needs to gather no food except greens, for the men of Vuanitavola work their lands well. The inhabitants of Fulanga and Ongea, where garden land is scarce, must gather food or increase their trade with other islands. 222

The inhabitants of Undu on Kambara have little garden land and seldom go to it because the food from the garden must be carried over a difficult path, or poled by canoe half way around the island. Since Undu has good bush land with many fruit trees, the natives gather larger quantities of wild fruit, nuts, and leaves than do the inhabitants of Tokalau, Lomatchi, and Nggalinggali. Tender green leaves are collected from the bush by the women of all [482 505]

---

* This section includes food gathering, fishing, hunting, animal husbandry, and gardening.

222 the islands. Today the leaves of the cultivated sweet potato are also eaten. The stems, with the leaves adhering, are broken from the plants and placed in baskets which are strapped to the back in the same way as bundles of wood (p. 151).

Fruits, especially those eaten raw, are usually gathered by boys, but the
ndawa, the Tahitian chestnut (*ivi*), and the *vala* are gathered under the super-
vision of grown men. On all the islands the Tahitian chestnut and *vala* are
gathered and esteemed highly. In harvesting the *vala*, care is taken not to
[481] harm the trees. Boys climb the tree and push or twist off the fruit clusters
with a straight or a forked stick. The men gather them from the ground and
boys or men carry them home in baskets on a stick resting on the shoulder.
[482] Usually two baskets are carried on one stick, one behind, the other in front
of the shoulder. The lower branches of the Tahitian chestnut tree are picked
by hand. The upper branches are picked from the ground with a stick, or a
boy climbs the tree to shake the branches and loosen the nuts with a stick.

222 Other fruits gathered from the bush are: *yaka* (*Pueraria thunbergiana*),
yaumitha (*Malaisia scandens*), *yangai*, *tarai*, important especially on Fulanga;
262 *songa* (the fruit of the mangrove) eaten on Fulanga and Ongea, *mbau levu*,
mbau thana, preferred to the larger *mbau levu* because of its sweetness,
mbawaki, and *nggalaka*.

[261] Arrowroot (*yambia*, *Tacca pinnatifida*), the tuber of which was formerly the staple on the volcanic islands, is eaten only in years of drought, except on Fulanga and Ongea, where it is eaten often. The arrowroot does not grow on Kambara.

[261] The *wangiri* nut, formerly the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, is eaten occasionally on Fulanga and Ongea, but elsewhere only in times of famine. It does not grow on the volcanic islands.

[263] Sugar, extracted from wild ti root, is used to sweeten puddings.

Yavato, an edible grub (the larva of the long-horned prionid beetle, *Olethrius*) found in decaying trees, is highly prized. Men search for grubs in old tree trunks lying in the bush. On Kambara I watched a European-Fijian half-caste searching for grubs. The saliva ran from his mouth when he found an old trunk with many holes eaten into the wood. Roughly he cleaned off the dust of decaying, moulding wood with his hands and hastily ate 46 grubs.

The coconut crab (*unga vule*) is considered a great delicacy. The crab,
which weighs up to 12 pounds, is caught by men who turn it on its back and
[482] tie vines around it so that the legs are lashed to the body. A stick is pushed
under the vine and the crab is slung on the shoulder.

Birds' eggs are never gathered or eaten, but turtles' eggs, found on the beach, are relished.

Concerning food gathering in the past, Moto, an old man of the Matasoata clan in Undu, gave the following information: 222

> When I was a boy we always gathered our food. Men, women, and children gathered fruits and nuts, and the women and children gathered leaves. Our everyday food was the *wangiri* nut. It grows on a vine in the bush. The black, shelled nuts were roasted and eaten right in the bush. If we had some nuts left after satisfying our appetites, we took them home in a basket of coconut leaves and sank the basket into salt water to make fermented food (*mandrai*), as we do now with manioc or breadfruit. [415] [252]
>
> When I was a boy about the size of Nggauna [who was fifteen] we had no real garden land on Kambara. Where the gardens are on Ndelaioloi near Tokalau, trees were growing, mainly the Tahitian chestnut and the *ndawa*. We had no manioc except *manioka ni India*, which was poisonous, and the poison had to be extracted before it could be eaten. We had the white and red sweet potato; the brownish ones came later. When I was a boy we did not have as many sweet potatoes as we have today. We planted very small patches only, usually among the trees where the bush did not grow too thickly. Gradually the fruit trees on Ndelaioloi died away and the land was used for gardens. We had no real yams, only the sweet yam (*kawai*) and the *kaile* and a very few wild yam (*tchivoli*). We planted wild yam and *kaile* only in the bush where we found them growing wild. We did not need to search for wild yam because we knew where they grew and also knew to whom they belonged. Sometimes we planted from three to four sweet yam plants together. We dug no real holes and never made mounds as we do today.

FISHING

The waters surrounding the islands of Lau are rich in fish. On clear days, as one passes by canoe over the colorful lagoons, large schools can be seen moving over the white bottom and slowly drawing around the coral limestone formations, which stretch under the water like colored hills and valleys. 226 [136]

Fishing techniques differ on the various islands, due to the character of the coast, the lagoon, and the reef; to the depth and clearness of water; to the currents; and to the kind of fish prevalent in the vicinity.

Women catch most of the daily supply of fish in nets. Only when fishing becomes a sport, as in spearing, or when it is connected with a ceremony, as in communal fishing, do men participate. The master fisherman has charge of communal fishing and the fishing grounds (p. 51). There is less organized fishing today than there was in the past. Usually fishing is done by small groups, who disturb the fish so that actually fewer and smaller ones are now caught. The master fisherman of Kambara says that if the people do not ask permission before they go fishing they do not make a good catch.

FISHING WITH NETS

Tatanga. The *tatanga* is a rectangular net not quite one fathom wide and about one fathom long. It is spread out by two sticks, 3 to 4 cm. in diameter, one attached to each short side of the net. Three to six women blacken their faces with ashes, especially the region around the eyes, as a protection from sun. Each woman takes a *tatanga* net, rolls it around two sticks, and carries it on her shoulder or in her hand. On Kambara the women use diving goggles, called *suvimarini* (submarine), which are said to have been introduced about ten years ago. The nets are unfolded on the beach. Women prefer [302] [751] to use the nets in water which is about neck high. One stick is held in either hand, the net is open, and the woman walks or dog paddles, watching the water. Suddenly she dives and makes a clever twist with the net. The fisherwoman comes to the surface, empties the net, kills the fish by biting its head, and puts it into the fish basket which is either tied to her waist or is standing on a rock nearby. If she is near the beach where the children are watching the fishing, she throws the fish onto the sand for them to kill. Frequently the children enter the water also and, while swimming toward the women, try to chase the fish into the nets by beating the surface. The *tatanga* is difficult work. For hours the women work in the glare of the sun and in the often cold salt water. The women say that when no protecting glasses were known the work was more difficult.

On Kambara the daily supply of fish is caught by the *tatanga* method. If one fisherwoman has no success and another has a good catch, it is divided, but as a rule the *tatanga* method is used for household fishing, and the catch is not shared. When used on Fulanga the *tatanga* method is called *suvimarini*. When the *tatanga* net (called *tavilaki* on Mothe) is used on Mothe, eye glasses are not worn as on Kambara and Fulanga, but the water is beaten and the fish are driven into the coral formations. Girls with their nets close in on them.

Vono. The *tatanga* net is also used by women in fishing by the *vono* method. When the tide starts to ebb they move with the net and a stick, sometimes a one-pronged spear, toward the reef. While the water is rushing over the reef toward the sea, narrow brook-like passages are closed off with a net. Three or more nets close larger passages, where the water is not too deep nor the current too strong. Clear sunshine and calm weather are needed, so that the fish may be seen. The women hold the net against the current only when a school of fish is approaching. The *vono* method often brings big fish into the net, and they are either beaten with a stick on the head or speared.

Volavola. In the *volavola* method a net is used to close the exit to a passage running through a rock formation. Some of the women go into the passage or onto the surrounding rocks and beat the water to chase the fish into the net.

Rarau. Women also use nets (*rarau*) about one fathom long to block caves and holes in the coral. The ends of the net are hooked to pointed rocks. The fish that do not enter the net are speared with a one-pronged spear.

Songo matana. At high tide a large net or many small ones are tied to roots of mangroves to enclose a part of the mangrove-growing waters. When the tide falls the retreating fish enter the nets. The *songo matana* method (literally, close the faces) is usually used by women, but men occasionally participate.

Mbekambeka. Parts of the mangrove-growing waters are fenced during low tide with mats of plaited coconut leaves (*mbekambeka*) by men and women. The fisher folk hold them until the water falls, then catch the fish by hand or spear them.

Lawa vuevue. The *lawa vuevue* (*lawa*, net; *vuevue*, beating) method is used at low tide, near the beach or reef in day time. The net used is rectangular, about 3 fathoms long and 1.5 fathoms wide. It is extended, like the *tatanga* net, by means of two sticks, one attached to either short side, and each stick is held by a woman. About four pairs of women bring their nets close together so that no fish may escape between them. Another group of women and children, about 70 meters from and opposite the net carriers, beat the water and move forward, chasing the fish toward the nets. This process is repeated often. The catch is divided evenly among the participating households. An old woman and her assistant sort and divide the fish.

Yathi. The *tatanga* nets are also used by women on Kambara to catch mullet (*kanathe*) at night by the *yathi* method. Silently three or more women walk along the beach at low tide, when the fish often come right to the edge of the shore, and listen for the well known splash of mullet. As soon as the splashing of a school is heard the women step into the water, open their *tatanga* nets and surround the school so that the fish are caught in the nets.

Yavirau. A *yavirau* (*yavi*, hauling; *rau*, string or rope) is a communal fishing expedition on special occasions such as the death or marriage of a prominent man.

Toward the end of December I witnessed a *yavirau* held by the villages of Lomatchi and Tokalau. A few prominent men of Tokalau and Lomatchi went to the master fisherman, ceremonially presented kava to him, and explained that the community wished to have a *yavirau* so that there might be plenty of fish for a feast on New Year's Day. They asked that he tell them when and where to fish. The master fisherman folded his hands and sank his head; looking at the floor, he cleared his throat, and replied, "Vinaka sara" (Very well). He fixed December 28 as the great day and selected the Lomatchi fishing grounds as the place. The supplicants thanked him, sat together for a while, and then left to report to their people.

[324] On the appointed day one group of young men went into the bush to cut *walai* (*Entada phaseoloides*) and *tuva* vines which grow to a length of over 100 meters and are about 0.5 cm. in diameter. Meanwhile another group of men was busy with cane knives, cutting green branches of coconut. The branches were piled near the beach with the *walai* and *tuva* vines. With their teeth, a sharp shell, or a cane knife the men split the sides of the branches from the midrib slightly, took hold of the sides with their fingers and then, suddenly opening their arms, stripped them with the adhering leaflets from the midrib. While some men or boys were holding the vines, others wound the coconut foliage adhering to the strip spirally around the vines so that the leaves stuck out like long barbs. Women did not participate in this work. Whenever they were invited to, they laughed and joked, and continued to blacken their faces with ashes in spite of the fact the sky was gray most of the day.

Finally the spiked strings were rolled into two coils, each about 400 meters long, and placed on a canoe. The crowd was excited, for the tide had begun to ebb. Quickly the canoe was pushed off. Two men, standing on the beach, held one end of the string and, as the canoe was poled toward the reef, the first coil unwound. The second coil was tied to the end of the first and then the canoe moved forward again. Having reached the reef, one man stepped off and held the string. The canoe turned to the right, poled parallel to the reef, and stopped as the last meter of coil unwound. In the meantime men and women on canoes had divided in the lagoon. Women and boys jumped into the water, which was falling rapidly, and held the line so that it might not catch a rock. The line was used to frighten the fish into one corner of the lagoon. The men on the beach started moving forward and gradually the whole line from the beach to the reef moved. Those on the ends were pulling ahead, the others were moving slowly so that the line became semicircular. The people in the water either walked over coral or swam in deep water. The people on the reef end moved toward the beach so that the string began to describe the outline of a horseshoe, the opening toward the beach. Men on canoes followed and admonished the crowd to hold the line deep enough so that schools of fish might not pass below it. The men on the beach stopped. Those holding the end in the water moved toward the beach and finally stepped onto the sand about 40 meters from them. Near the beach the water was shallow, and the encircled fish became nervous. The spiral string drew together around them as they tried to escape. Men and women beat the water, jumped and approached the beach. About 15 meters from the sand the string was cut in two places and married women quickly blocked the openings with nets. At the same time a man held up his spear and looked at the master fisherman who excitedly yelled, "Vinaka" (Very well)! Men and boys threw their spears at the captive fish. Little boys, who tried themselves for the first time, yelled and screamed with enthusiasm.

A stick was shoved through the meshes of each net and thus the full nets were carried onto the beach. The speared fish were spread there also. The women killed those from the nets by biting them on the head. Large ones were struck by the boys with a stick or the back of a cane knife. The fish were sorted according to size and divided between the villages in proportion to population, and each village share was divided between clans.

The catch of about 100 fish weighed about 250 pounds, but a catch of about 800 pounds had been expected. The master fisherman told me that a pregnant woman had participated and that a woman during the first hundred days of pregnancy would spoil any net fishing. (The *yavirau* is considered to be a net.) He added that the population had not been respecting the master fisherman in their daily fishing and the consequence was a shortage of fish. While the first reason was recognized by all and caused talk among the women, the people never mentioned the second reason given by the master fisherman. The chief of Kambara, who had not participated because of his age, said: "If a woman in early pregnancy takes part naturally no good result is possible, but, anyway, today is not a *yavirau* day. The sky is too dark and dark are the waters, as dark as the coconut leaves. Consequently the fish could not see the spiral and passed through it. Furthermore, the fishing took place in rather shallow waters which are liked by fish on sunny days. Today they are in deeper waters. Therefore perhaps only a few fish were present."

On Fulanga the *yavirau* method is also used but the *rau* is never pulled toward the beach, always onto the reef.

Latchi tei. A coconut-leaf rope (*rau*), shorter than that used for a *yavirau*, is used by the Fulanga women to catch *tei*, a fish about the size of a mullet. The net is spread just inside the reef where the *tei* are common.

Tuvatu. Such a short *rau* is called *tuvatu* on Mothe where it is placed around a rock formation below the surface of the water during high tide. When the tide falls the fish are frightened by the moving coconut-leaf spiral and stay in pools around the rocks. At low tide the fish are procured by ~~the~~ poisoning method (pp. 134-135).

Lawa ni yavi. The *lawa ni yavi* (drag net) technique is a communal fishing method used occasionally by women only during the day. The net is about 100 meters long and 3.5 meters deep. It is used only during low or ebbing tide in sections with a white sandy bottom near the beach. A few women take one end of the net and haul it into the water. Others stand on the beach and hold the other end. The rest of the participants place themselves all along the net, holding it under water, and gradually move forward. Those standing on the beach remain stationary. Thus the line describes a semicircle around the women on the beach. Girls, boys, and children beat the water in front of the net so that the fish are frightened back toward the fishers. As the fisher line approaches the beach the women skillfully catch many fish about to escape underneath the net.

I witnessed a *lawa ni yavi* at Ndaku, Kambara. When the net had been hauled to the beach, the master fisherman appeared. The net was carried to a grassy spot beneath the coconut trees and emptied of about 200 fish. The whole process took six minutes. The master fisherman and his wife knelt near the pile of fish, sorted them according to size, and put them into piles of 12. Then the master fisherman took one fish from each pile for each clan until none was left, and each clan received an equal share.

Sau kanathe. Men and women fish together for mullet, using the *sau kanathe* method. A net about 35 fathoms wide is taken to a place in the lagoon, preferably 4 to 5 feet deep. The ends of the net are held by men and the women line up along the net, which is put out in horseshoe formation. The men start to pull, the women follow and hold the net in proper position. The men on the ends either proceed toward the beach or, if the net is closed in the water, it is carried by a canoe to the beach, where the catch is divided.

Hose. *Hose* is a finger long fish, reddish in color, found in schools of thousands in the Fulanga lagoons. The women take a small meshed net about 100 meters long into the lagoon where the bottom consists of small coral. There the net is opened and gradually dragged toward shallow water near the beach or toward one of the little islands.

Vutu. The *vutu* method is used by women and children on moonlight nights. They pole out to the reef, and a few people, especially children, climb upon a rock. Others with a *lawa ni yavi* net encircle the rock, while those on top start bumping and jumping to chase the hiding fish into the open water where the net is waiting. When the fish have been put into baskets, the fishing party moves to another rock. The *tutu* method is used quite frequently on Kambara. 226

Nggoli mbongi. For night fishing (*nggoli mbongi*) on Fulanga women take a net about 50 meters wide into the lagoon, open it, and silently approach the beach.

FISHING WITH SPEARS

The men of Fulanga are known in Lau as expert spearmen. The people of Muanaira and Muanaithake admit that the men of Naivindamu are the most skillful. The formation of the lagoon, daily canoeing, and abundance of fish offer them an opportunity to perfect themselves in this sport. A Fulanga man never forgets to take his spear when he crosses the lagoon and there are always spears lying on outrigger canoes. Naivindamu's fishing grounds cover the finest part of the lagoon which lies beside the village. Boys at the age of six or seven learn to spear. They usually start by spearing mullet. [868]

The men of Kambara are also enthusiastic and skillful spearmen.

Tumata. A man, preparing to go *tumata* spearing, blackens his face with ash dust. Usually he carries on his shoulder two spears, one with especially strong prongs. A spear is about 3 to 3.5 fathoms long, and has not less than two and not more than four prongs. He shoves the prongs of his spear several times through the cleansing beach sand to take off the rust, then slowly steps into the water, and follows the retreating waves toward the reef. He stands on the reef where a rock projects from the water and turns his back toward the sea, handles the spears as if they were new to his hands, and hesitates a moment before taking the heavy pronged or light one. He knows which spear to use first because he has been given a sign in a dream. He takes his stand, his arm with the spear ready to thrust, and may stand thus for hours. The spear is not thrown but is used to stab the fish. The *tumata* method is used for heavy fish. Fish under about six pounds are speared only by young boys with small spears. *Tumata* is considered a sport. Several men on Kambara neglect their garden land to spear fish, and the people occasionally whisper about them and call them "no good." On Fulanga this method is called *tutomba* (literally, standing on a rock). [302]

Thothoka. The *thothoka* method is used with spears of from two to six prongs. On a clear day at either low or high tide the spearman walks along the beach and the reef. If a fish is close he thrusts, if far away he throws the spear.

Ndewa. *Ndewa* (reef walking) is done with spears at low tide. The spearman turns his back toward the coast and walks along the outermost edge of the reef, watching the open sea. He hurls the spear at a fish but does not throw farther than 10 meters, for to recover it from a greater distance is to risk encountering sharks. A strong, three-pronged spear is used because only the large fish are speared.

Vaka na sambi (spearing on the reef). While the tide is rising men walk the reef, watch the fish crossing from the ocean into the lagoon, and spear them at the spots where the fish must for a moment slow down in shallow water.

Kakara. Spearing at high tide inside the reef (*kakara*) is considered the greatest fishing sport on Fulanga. Two men pole a canoe to the reef at high tide. At the reef the man standing in the stern poles while the one in the bow looks for and spears fish.

Kanathe (mullet). When the moon waxes or wanes, spearmen walk along the beach at low tide. The moonlight blinds the fish but aids the men to see. A smooth sandy region is preferred. The deserted islet of Wangava offers fine stretches for mullet spearing, and the Kambara men go there to fish for them.

226 **Thina.** *Thina* is the Lauan word for lamp, lantern, torch. Men or women or men and women torch fish (*thina*) together at night. Each takes at least one coconut spathe, splits one end of it several times, so that it will catch fire readily and quickly throw a light flame. At the spot on the beach where the fishing is to start, the spathes are lighted with a glowing coconut husk or stick. The torches are held over the water by members of the party who walk slowly ahead of the others. The fish are usually speared or clubbed.

Vaka a samu (the beating fashion). A fish, tied to a short line which is fastened to a stick, is beaten on the water to serve as a lure. The fish are stabbed with a one-pronged spear (*sakathukathu*), which is a sharp pointed shaft of wood.

Tauyara. By the *tauyara* (to lure with an equal) method, a fish is stuck onto one prong of a spear or tied to the shaft, with a string. The spear is moved so that the bait is kept under water to lure a fish close enough to be stabbed.

FISHING WITH HOOK AND LINE

Fishing with hook and line is called *siva*. This method is used frequently on Namuka, Mothe, and Fulanga by men and women either during the day or night, preferably at sandy spots where the hook will not catch. A small fish, a crab, or a slug is bait.

For fishing from the beach a line 50 meters long is used. The loosely rolled coil is thrown by one hand and an end of line held in the other. At intervals the fisherman calls: "Tale mai, tale mai, tale mai" (Come here, come here, come here). In canoe trolling the method is the same, but a shorter line is used. Sometimes the canoe is anchored and the line is weighted. When fishing from a rock the man or woman throws the line out or weights it with a stone so that it sinks vertically.

The fishhook used in Lau today is imported. The natives agree that the fishhooks formerly used were of wood and bone but no one was able to describe them.

FISH STUPIFYING

226
278 **Samulaki.** The afternoon before *samulaki* fishing on Kambara a few people go to the bush to gather a vine called *tuva*. Old branches are taken because their poison is strong. In the evening the branches are beaten with a rock until the juice begins to ooze. Before sunrise the next morning, and at low tide when the fish have not yet left the coral formations, women go to the reef. A small handful of the beaten twigs is tied into a bundle and splashed on the water so that the poisonous juice mixes with the water and enters the coral caves. Several coral formations are poisoned on the same morning, and by daybreak the fish are drifting unconscious on the surface. Any prevented by the coral from coming to the surface are speared.

A similar method, called *tuva*, is used on Fulanga. The bark of the *tuva* is cut into pieces and pounded on a stone with a beating stick. Then the bark is ripped into strips, which are tied in small bundles and taken by canoe to the reef. The girls dive around the coral formations and, if many fish are detected, the basket containing the bundles is lowered into the water. The wet bark is beaten again so that the sap oozes readily. Each girl takes a bundle, dives, places it between the rocks until all the main holes and narrow passages contain the poison. The fish which rise to the surface are picked by hand or speared. On Fulanga this method of fish stupifying is usually used by a household, sometimes by a village.

226 278 **Tuva ni nikini.** On Kambara the roots of the *tuva ni nikini* (New Guinea *tuva*) are taken by men, women, or children to the reef. The people dive near the reef to chase the fish into the cavities of the coral formation. Then someone, usually a girl but never a man, puts on protecting glasses, dives, and circles the rock to see whether or not the fish have fled into the holes. After the root is beaten into dust with a piece of hard wood about 30 to 40 cm. long and 5 to 7 cm. in diameter, women dive with handfuls of the powder and squeeze them under water. After about 15 minutes the fish come to the surface, apparently dead or stupified, but most fish caught this way die after about five minutes of play. Heavy, strong fish are hit on the head with a stick or with the back of a cane knife.

On Fulanga the powdered root is placed in a medicine bag made of coconut reticulum and taken to the reef. If the fisherwomen see fish, the bag is taken into the water and squeezed between the rocks. The method is used only during the day.

Tuva kalou. On Namuka, *tuva kalou* fruit is steamed in the earth oven, then put into a basket which is placed in the hull of a canoe partly filled with water. The basket is pressed against the hull or worked with sticks so that the fruit juice mixes with the water. When three or four bailers of this mixture are poured around a rock formation, it sinks slowly and is worked into the caves by the current. When the drugged fish appear on the surface they are caught by hand or stabbed, then put into baskets.

Sosolo or soli. *Soli*, a black slug about 30 cm. long and 4 to 5 cm. in diameter, which is found in masses near Namuka, is used for stupifying fish. The slugs are put into a basket, covered with sand, and trampled so that the juice and the odor of the slugs are absorbed by the sand. The basket is tied to a string and let down from a canoe into the water of the lagoon. It is said that the odor and the slight change in the color of the water attract and stun the fish causing them to rise to the surface in two or three minutes. They are gathered by hand. The same basket of slugs may be used several times.

Soto. On Mothe *soto* leaves are crushed with a cane knife or shell. During the night, at low tide when the water is calm, the leaves are placed in coral holes to stun the fish.

FISH TRAPPING

226 **Toni kana.** The fish trap (*ndai ni ika*) used in the *toni kana* method, is a circular basket, up to 1 fathom in diameter and up to 40 cm. deep. The fish enter a funnel-shaped entrance on top. Usually the trap is set by a diver who preferably puts it onto a smooth place. A sea slug or a large crab, which has been opened to cause a stronger odor, serves as bait and is tied with a string either to the trap or to stone weights inside the trap. Occasionally the trap is hooked to a stick, tied onto the end of a string and weighted with a stone. It is lowered and raised by the hook and string.

Va katu ku tuku. From the circumference of the round trap described above are run three strings, which are tied together from 0.5 to 1 meter above the stone-weighted trap. At the upper end of the string is tied a floating stick 1 to 2 meters long so that the trap can easily be located and pulled out of the water.

Lasia. A diver places the above described trap and puts stones around it which touch the lower edge of the trap so that the current cannot move it easily. This kind of trap setting is done most frequently in calm waters.

FISHPONDS

Of the six islands visited fishponds were used only on Mothe. This island has six fishponds which resemble horseshoes in shape, the open end bordered by the beach. The stone walls (*moka*), which are about 0.5 meter high, are made from the black basalt with which the beach is strewn. This stone is smooth and heavy, and the walls are not easily destroyed by the surf. High tide brings the fish over the walls, where they are speared or gathered.

226 In deeper pools they are poisoned. So that the waters will not be depleted the fish from the ponds are used only for special occasions, such as birth and death feasts, and installations.

Mothe has two creeks, each about 5 meters wide. Formerly, Mothe people caught many fish at the mouths of these creeks which empty into the lagoon, but they do not use this method today. At high tide the mouths of the creeks are deepened by sea water which brings the fish into the otherwise shallow creeks. The mouths are easily closed to hold the fish when the water has retreated. Other fish gather outside the wall and are speared during high tide.

SHELL FISHING

[262] Shell fishing is common on Fulanga where the floor of the lagoon seems paved with shellfish, which Fulangans seem to prefer to other fish. Daily the women are seen diving for shellfish. It is hard labor, requiring deep and long diving. Their faces blackened with soot, and equipped with a pointed, hard wood stick about 30 cm. long, women separate in the lagoon and swim about slowly. Before a woman dives, she breathes deeply, and under water she looks through her protecting glasses for shells adhering to the rocks. She [482] pries them off the rock with the stick and puts them into a basket tied around her waist. She stays under water two or three minutes.

A bivalve shellfish, called *kekewa,* is found only on the northwest side of Wangava lake at the entrance to a cave called Nggaranikekewa. It is a delicacy gladly accepted all over Lau in exchange for other produce. *Kekewa* fishing is done only by women at low tide.

MBALOLO

A sea worm (*Nereis*), living at the bottom of parts of the reef in Lau, periodically frees reproductive segments (*mbalolo*), greenish in color, about 15 cm. long and not thicker than 3 mm. Once during November the lagoon is filled with the *mbalolo,* while in October fewer usually appear. Hence October is called *vulai mbalolo lailai* (moon of few *mbalolo*) and November *vulai mbalolo levu* (moon of many *mbalolo*). As soon as someone discovers them he calls, "Mbalolo, mbalolo!" The village grows excited and men, women, and children run into the lagoon to drag baskets through the water. *Mbalolo* is either baked or boiled and served at a village feast.

LOBSTERS

In the lagoon near Marambo Island, which belongs to Undu, lobsters (*ura ni wai tui*) are picked out of the holes and shallow places at low tide.

SQUID LURING

The squid lure (*taukuita*), which is used only on Mothe, is similar in type to that of Samoa (described by Buck, 2, pp. 434-437).

TURTLE FISHING

The sea turtle (*vonu*) is a chiefly animal in Lau, and is protected by special rules. Permission to fish for turtles must be granted by the master fisherman of the chiefs' phratry. Most of the turtle fishing (*vothevothe,* to paddle) in southern Lau is done by members of the chiefs' phratry on Kambara. The master fisherman describes the day and place of the hunt, and at the appointed hour the whole community streams to the beach. 225

Men and women (mainly young girls) board the canoes. The master fisherman paddles out near the reef and the boats line up, with the two canoes on the wings about 50 meters ahead. "Vola", the master fisherman cries, lifts his paddle, and all boats paddle forward. If a turtle is seen in the water the person who detects it calls excitedly, "Vonu, vonu!" and points toward a dark spot moving ahead. The fishermen paddle quickly with all their strength to catch up with the turtle. Frequently it escapes, but sometimes after a chase of several minutes it pauses at the bottom of the lagoon. A young man dives down behind the turtle, grasps it under the plate nearest the neck with his hand, and with his foot against the back of the animal, turns it over, shoving it to the surface upside down. The people on the canoe haul it aboard and place it on its back. The same method is used on a dark night, when the moving turtle causes a phosphorescent light. The conch shell is blown on the return of the canoes from a successful turtle hunt.

Turtle breeding is described on pages 141-142.

Turtles bred in the lake on Wangava are caught by means of a turtle net. The only net in southern Lau belongs to Mothe but it has been borrowed by the people of Kambara, who use it on the Wangava lake. I witnessed a netting day there. The net was hanging over a rod set on two forked stakes near the lake. Before it was taken down, dry leaves were gathered and lit to windward so that the smoke might blow through it and purify it on the chance that a pregnant woman had touched it. "But no one lives here", I said. "Just the same some women are *tha* (bad)", was the answer.

The net was placed on a canoe and taken on the lake. Floats of *vutu* (*Barringtonia*) nuts kept the upper length of the net on the surface of the water, while weights of stone held the lower length of the net on the lake bottom. The net was put out at eleven in the morning and at four o'clock in the afternoon one turtle had been caught. The next morning two turtles were netted and on the third day two more. They weighed from 90 to 175 pounds. The animals were taken to Kambara. One soon to be eaten, was taken to the village of Nggalinggali where it was kept on its back. The others were placed inside a turtle fence in the lagoon. [824]

POISONOUS FISH

The natives claim that the fish in the section of the Kambara lagoon stretching for about 200 meters along the northwest shore of Tokalau have been poisonous since the hurricane in 1929. They say that three people in one clan died from eating fish caught there. They do not know why the fish from this 825

825 section are poisonous while those from the surrounding waters are not, but some believe that during the storm poisonous seaweed was carried through the passage situated opposite the poisoned section and now grows there. Patches near the islands of Komo and Mothe have also been poisoned since the 1929 hurricane.

Hunting

PIGS

224 Though wild pigs are no longer found on Lau, some old people have participated in pig hunting. Moto of Undu describes it as follows:

> Many young men went with spears through the jungle, sometimes with a dog. We encircled a large coral pocket and placed men with spears at the exits. Other men went down into the pocket. The pigs ran from the exits and were speared. Often the injured pigs ran back into the pockets or to other exits until they were killed by another spear or died of loss of blood. The legs of the dead pigs were tied together and two men carried them home on a stick across their shoulders. The pigs belonged to all the hunters and after the hunt a feast was held.

GOATS

There are wild goats on the uninhabited island of Aiwa and a few on Kambara. Men sailing by canoe between southern Lau and Lakemba usually stay over night on Aiwa and occasionally hunt goats. The goats are chased into a coral pocket, and as the animals try to pass through the exits, they are clubbed. Occasionally live goats are caught and taken home.

WILD FOWL

223 The Lauans are not very successful in trapping wild pigeons. They are occasionally trapped in a basket (*wali*) in which are tied red berries for bait. But I have seen the trap placed in a red berry bush where the birds can have all the berries they want without entering the trap.

There are wild chickens on Kambara, Fulanga, Wangava, and Namuka which closely resemble the domestic chickens. Wangava and Kambara have many. Traps are occasionally set for them in the jungle. A chicken trap (*ndau ni toa*) is a pyramid-shaped, four-sided frame of any kind of wood faced with slats. It is open at the base and is placed on the ground with the bait inside. One side is raised and propped up with a stick just high enough so that the fowl can enter.

Wild ducks are seen on the brackish lakes of Namuka and Wangava.

Animal Husbandry

PIGS

23 Pigs (*vuaka*), which are scarce in southern Lau, are the most valued domestic animals. Pork is an esteemed food for feasts at important weddings, initiations, and funerals.

An old informant says:

> Before the time of the colonial government we had many pigs because we did not need to feed them. A fence of posts, running along the outskirts of the village from the beach to the cliff, kept the animals away from dwellings, but gave them access to the beach and the jungle where fruits, roots, insects, and greens afforded abundant food. Each household had its pigs and had a special place along the fence where it threw food to them. Often the fences were not kept in repair and animals found their way into the village and the houses. Hence the government ordered each pig owner to keep his animals in pens outside the village. Since that time pigs have had to be fed and, as food is scarce, the number has declined rapidly.

231 [417]

In December 1933, there were only 14 brood sows and one boar on Kambara. All these pigs, with the exception of one that had been brought as a farrow from Totoya, were of the razor-backed, long-legged, Polynesian breed. The animals were kept in pens about 9 meters square, with stone or wooden fences 1 to 1.5 meters high. Each sow had a single pen. In Tokalau one large pen was divided into two parts by a stone wall. The wall had a hole large enough for a farrow to slip through. Whenever the sow wanted a rest she would urge the litter into the other pen where the pigs were fed. The owner said, "Some day the farrows will be so big that they cannot return to the mother and then we shall know how big they are."

[417]

The farrows stay with the sow as long as she can give them a drop of milk, often three or four months. The sow by that time has been reduced almost to a skeleton. Pigs of the same litter weigh from 20 to 40 pounds at the age of four months. If a farrow is slow in development the owner takes it home, where it is tied to a tree and given special food. Children play with it and occasionally the owner takes it for a walk. Some owners let their pigs run about after they have left the mother. They are usually kept out of the village, but there are often one or two to be seen around the earth oven and occasionally they enter the houses.

Pigs may be fed by men or women; the women usually feed them with coconut in the late forenoon. Beside each pen a husking stake (*ndoko*) is driven into the ground. In the evening a man, usually the owner, goes to the pen with a bundle of grass and leaves carried on a stick resting on his shoulder. He feeds the grass to the animals and gives them coconut meat. Most pigs are killed when they weigh 90 to 100 pounds, and are presented ceremonially to visiting chiefs or government officials.

The natives did not know the period of gestation for pigs. Their estimate of from three to five months is significant, as a farrow born only a day or two before it is due cannot live. Sows with many teats are preferred for breeding for they are considered most fertile. I did not find any pig able to suckle more than eight young ones and not one animal with a litter of more than six.

A boar is considered best between four and six years. Later he loses in potency. The only boar on Kambara was seven years old. The year before a

231 boar in Tokalau between 10 and 15 years old had died of old age. No attention is paid to the development of the boars' tusks. I did not witness a castration nor see any castrated boars. Castration of the male is said to be performed with a bamboo knife by any man before the males are able to reproduce. However, in Tokalau and Undu there were several young male animals about five months old chasing young females of the same litter. These males were considered able to reproduce and the females to conceive. So anxious were the natives for farrows that they gave no thought to the fact that the young females would be stunted.

On Namuka were two brown and white pigs imported from Viti Levu. They were kept in a 3 meter deep rock pen near the village. These animals were exceptionally well nourished although they were given exactly the same food as two thin Polynesian pigs in a nearby pen.

There were no pigs on Fulanga. The natives say that they have no food for them. There were, however, several pig pens of limestone.

DOMESTIC FOWL

235 Chickens (*toa*) are found on all islands. No special breed seems to prevail, but I saw no white ones. A chicken is believed to lay about 30 eggs a year on Kambara. Chickens usually lay in one corner of the dwelling house. When a hen has about eight eggs she sits on them until they hatch. The chicks are either left to run about freely or are put into a coop.

Many people on Kambara gave the chicks attention during the first and second weeks and few were lost, but after that they seemed to decrease daily until 75 percent of them disappeared. There are many rats and chicken hawks on Kambara, but natives claim that the large lizard is the greatest enemy of the baby chick. They admitted that no one had seen a lizard attack a chicken but said that neither had a hawk or a rat been seen attacking a chicken.

The head of the family usually feeds the chickens early in the morning and toward evening. He beats a coconut against a board or an old canoe to call the chickens, and they gather around him as he grates the coconut meat for them.

Chickens are cared for best on the island of Fulanga where there are more chickens than on any other island in southern Lau. On Fulanga each household has at least one chicken coop. Usually they stand in the shade of the brush near the kitchen huts at the edge of the beach except in Naivindamu, where the wind on the beach is so strong that it would harm the chickens and destroy the coops.

There are many roosters. A bird with a deep, rolling voice and a strutting walk is esteemed. Because old roosters are thought to have the most mana, young ones are seldom killed. A rooster has a wholesome influence on the brood and imparts his mana to the consumer. To be served an old tough rooster is a sign of respect and the good will of the host. On Muanaira, a rooster said to be nine years old was thought to have much mana and was called master (*matai*). Inhabitants of the other villages on the island knew about him. The natives said that to kill such a rooster might have a bad influence on all the chickens of Fulanga. 235

The natives know that it takes about three weeks for baby chicks to hatch. They believe that without a rooster to fertilize a hen she cannot lay an egg. Old Mosesi of Namuka says, "A long time ago it happened that we had no rooster on Namuka, but we had eggs because the chickens mated with the ground pigeons." Asked if they had any chicks from these eggs, he said, "Yes."

When I arrived on Kambara two domesticated ducks (*nga*) were sitting on eggs under an overturned old canoe. One day the owner lamented that both birds had been sitting over three weeks and that no young ducks had arrived. A week later the owner of the ducks complained that there were still no young ducks. I found that there was no drake on the island and that these two ducks were the first birds of the kind on Kambara. They had been brought from Moala, whence they had come from Viti Levu. Natives said that they had been greatly surprised when the birds began laying, but had deduced that the ducks mated with the roosters.

In 1934 there were about 30 turkeys on Kambara. They belonged to Mosesi of Naivotavota, who said he had procured them from Viti Levu in 1929. They ran freely in the Ndelaioloi garden lands and in the jungle. They were not butchered and were steadily increasing.

I saw no bird cages, but the natives on all islands remembered that at one time or another they had kept a *kaisevou* bird, a pigeon, or a wild chicken.

DOGS AND CATS

There are two or three dogs (*koli*) on each island. The natives pay little attention to them and the animals are usually forced to steal their food. They are often seen scratching around the earth oven, and boys chase them away with stones. During my visit four dogs were born in Tokalau, and the owner killed them by throwing them against a tree. Informants say that dogs were occasionally eaten on Kambara in the past. 231

A few cats (*pusi*) are kept as pets on each island. The children play with them and carry them around. They are not fed. I saw a wild cat on Wangava and informants claim that there are wild cats on Kambara.

TURTLES

The Kambarans catch young sea turtles, keep them in the house, and later place them in Sauvanaroa, the brackish lake on Wangava. There they grow

231 and develop a finer shell and flavor than they would in the open sea. On the shore at one corner of the lake are a few shelters of pandanus and coconut leaves where the turtles rest and dig their nest holes. The natives say the old female watches the eggs when they are about to hatch and that before the young ones reach the water she eats some of them.

It is said that in olden days the chiefs used the lake as a breeding pond for turtles and that since then the Naivotavota, Tanggu, and Saumua (Tokalau) clans have replenished the supply of young turtles from the open sea.

[417] Near Nggalinggali is a turtle fence 5 meters in diameter, in which turtles to be butchered are kept. The fence is circular and consists of sticks rammed into the ground near the beach. The sticks stand only 3 cm. apart and are tied together with *wali* string.

GARDENING

241 New land is rarely cleared. When it is cleared, a flat spot with a few big trees is selected. A fire is lighted around the trunk, and soon the bark dries and loosens. After a few months the foliage drops and as the years pass the branches drop, but the trunks remain a long time. On one spot, said to have been cleared 15 years ago, the big, white trunks are still standing and sweet yam vines climb on them. Sometimes cleared land is not used for a garden, either because the native has not had enough energy to loosen the soil and prevent shrubs and bushes from growing, or because an evil spirit is discovered in the neighborhood.

GARDEN PRODUCE

As far as possible, crops are rotated. Usually on the best land on most of the islands crops are rotated as follows: a crop of sweet potatoes, another crop of sweet potatoes, a fallow year, a crop of *kawai* (sweet yams) which are stringy and are cultivated only on islands with poor soil. The following rotation is considered ideal: yams, sweet potatoes, manioc. The land is then allowed to lie fallow for a year or even longer. Soil conditions, however, do not permit this preferable rotation except perhaps on Mothe, Komo, and Namuka. Since on all the islands a larger acreage is planted with manioc than with yams or sweet potato, two crops of manioc are often planted in succession on the same land.

Manioc

The varieties of manioc (called manioke; forms of the cultivated Manihot) are: *mbavisondoi* (many branched); *vula tolu* (three months, because it ought to be planted in three months only—February, March, and April); *niumea* (the natives claim that this variety came from Noumea, New Caledonia);

manioke falawa (flour manioc, from which much starch can be extracted); 241
"many knotted" manioc; *manioke ni India* (manioc of India).

Old Moto of Undu says:

> Manioc has not been here always. Our parents have told us about the time when 241
> manioc came here. It was introduced to Vanua Vatu and from there it came here. The 177
> first known variety was *manioke ni India.* It was very poisonous, and had to be washed carefully. The wash water could not be given to pigs, because it might kill them. It was very stringy and only the starch could be used. *Vula tolu* is the most recently imported variety. We have known it only about five years. *Manioke falawa* has been here about ten years. All manioc except *manioke ni India* has come while I have been on earth. Maybe *niumea* was here when I was a child, but I do not think so.

Moto's statements are substantiated by Kalo of Fulanga and other aged informants.

On Namuka the *mbavisondoi* is the most common variety; on Mothe re- 241
cently the *vula tolu* and *manioke falawa*; on Kambara, Ongea, and Fulanga the "many knotted" manioc is planted more than any other variety. The colors of the varieties differ from the whitish pale green of the *vula tolu* to a rusty red of the *mbavisondoi.* The natives do not agree as to which variety yields the largest and most reliable crops, but *vula tolu* is said to be becoming more and more popular because the root is most tender.

Manioc is planted throughout the year by men only. Natives say, however, that most of it is planted from April through August. The land is loosened and cleaned roughly with any kind of digging stick or occasionally with an imported 4-pronged fork. On Kambara six forks pass from hand to hand.

Manioc is planted as follows:

> The tip is cut off the stalk with a cane knife. It is cut into pieces from 0.30 to 1.30 meters in length. Holding these ends in a basket or under his arm, the man carries them to the garden and shoves the stalks about 25 cm. into the ground, leaving 5 to 75 cm. exposed to the light. Always four plants are placed 38 cm. apart in a square while the squares are about 1 meter apart. Except on Mothe, the planted ends do not protrude more than 10 cm. above the ground. On Mothe stalks on the same square may protrude from 13 cm. to 75 cm. The natives of Mothe claim those with the long ends, after they have once started sprouting, hold down the weeds and their roots develop more quickly than those with short ends. Often a stalk is cut from the newly harvested manioc, the hole from which the plant was pulled is leveled, and the stalk planted immediately.

After manioc is planted the soil is no longer worked, no fertilizer is spread out, and no charm used to influence the growth.

Manioc must grow at least one year. It is still good when two years old, but if it grows older it turns stringy, finally woody, and the thick bark must be cut off.

In the morning, before the sun has reached the garden, men go out (rarely together) with one or two baskets to bring in the day's supply of manioc. With both hands the whole plant is pulled out. The roots are sometimes cut

241 off with a cane knife or more frequently they are twisted until they loosen from the plant, then are thrown into a basket. Old plants are left lying on the spot or, if they are to be replanted immediately, thrown aside.

Manioc roots differ greatly in size and quality on the various islands. Manioc grown on the volcanic islands and on Namuka is better than that from the other islands of Lau and is free of strings. Manioc grown on poor limestone soil contains more starch and less water per pound. On the rest of the limestone islands roots weigh 0.75 to 1.5 pounds. On Mothe, a volcanic island, roots average about 4 pounds. On Namuka the average root weighs about 3 pounds.

[251] Manioc must be eaten on the day or on the day after it has been taken out of the ground or be preserved by fermentation.

Sweet potatoes

The sweet potato (***kumala, Ipomoea batatas***) ranks next to manioc as daily food, but the Lauan tires of sweet potato. Adults claim that during the last 10 to 15 years the sweet potato has deteriorated, due to a worm which eats into the tubers. Many sweet potatoes, especially on Kambara, show dry, black decayed spots inside.

The varieties of sweet potato found in Lau are: *kumala ndamundamu* (red sweet potato—red skin, dark pink flesh); *kumala siliva* (brown skin, yellow flesh); *kumala ni Samoa* (red skin, yolk-colored flesh); *kumala vula* (whitish skin, white flesh). Much *kumala ni Samoa* is grown on Namuka, an island known for its good sweet potatoes. All varieties are found on all the islands.

241
177 Moto of Undu states:

> In olden days we had no sweet potatoes here. My father told me he remembered very well when the first sweet potato came here. The first to come was the *kumala vula*. Old people told us it came from Tonga. But sweet potato was here before manioc came, because old people said, "When manioc came here we only planted a twig as we had done with the sweet potato. All the twigs died so we had no manioc and almost no sweet potato, because we had planted manioc on the sweet potato land."

Moto's statements are substantiated by other aged informants.

241 If the land has lain fallow it is cleared with a cane knife. Bush roots are pried loose with sticks and pulled out by hand. Clearing is hard labor.

The planting of sweet potatoes was done as follows:

> A man gathers plantings from a patch by cutting or pinching off stalks 30 cm. long. The stalks are set about 40 cm. apart in rows about 50 cm. apart. Half the length of the stalk is buried in the loose soil. Sweet potato gardens must be weeded. When the plant has grown the length from finger tip to elbow, earth is mounded, about 25 cm. high, around it. Thus the potatoes develop in the mound and the harvest is easy. It is necessary in most of the Fulanga gardens to make the mounds by hand before planting, for the layer of soil coating the limestone is so thin that a stalk cannot be planted 20 cm. deep if the soil is not scraped together into a mound.

Sweet potatoes are harvested three or four months after planting. The 241 gardener takes out only those that seem fully grown and puts them into a basket. The partly exposed roots are covered with soil again, and the undeveloped potatoes are left to ripen. If a whole plant is taken out he often pinches off a twig and immediately plants it on the spot where it has been growing.

Yams

The varieties of yams (*uvi, Dioscorea*) found in Lau are: ***kasokaso*** (the most chiefly yam in Lau; a few on Kambara, none on Mothe), ***kaumaile*** (longest of all yams), ***ndamuni*** (on Mothe and Kambara), ***matasi, veavea, siva mbalavu, poa, loutolu, taniela, vakathaiyanggona, tchikonotchivaro, rauva, tamboani, tua, muala, tambuakara, tambua ndrokandroka, volimbalavu, volileka*** (most of the Namuka yams are of the last variety, which is considered a fine yam); ***uvi ni Foatuna*** (yam of Futuna), ***rauitchi, vurai, ndakulevu, lokaloka, masoa, tambu tatavu.*** The *tchivoli* (wild yam) is delicious but small.

Hocart (15, p. 102) writes: "Yams are the staple food of Lau, ... The soil of Lakemba is especially suited to their cultivation." Yam is the [262] staple on Lakemba, but on Kambara, Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava it is little cultivated. In 1933-34 there was on Kambara one yam patch covering about 50 square meters. The harvest brought 300 pounds of yams at best, but the Kambarans say they usually have fewer yams. Fulanga and Ongea grow yams occasionally, but a few wild yams are found in the bush. These non-yam growing islands do not import yams unless a visiting relative from else- [262] where brings a few for his host. On Mothe and Namuka yam ranks third in importance as a food.

Setareki of Mothe explained:

> Our land is good, yams will grow very well, but they demand too much work. The soil must be worked thoroughly, it must be kept clear of weeds. If we plant manioc or sweet potatoes we need to clean the land only once, for they branch quickly and keep down the wild grasses without our help. Then, too, the harvest of potato and manioc is easy, but the yam must be dug out of the deep soil. Furthermore, with manioc or sweet potato, we need to plant only a branch or a twig, which otherwise would be thrown away, while with yam we have to put into the ground what we have taken out before, a perfectly good yam, perfectly fit to be eaten. That is bad.

Sweet yams are never called *uvi* (yam) by the natives; one always hears *kawai* (*Dioscorea aculeata*) or *kaile,* the name of a sweetish yam which now is rarely found.

According to Moto, as the sweet yam harvest was taken from the ground one yam or a piece of one was planted again on the same spot. Sometimes a piece or a few pieces were taken nearer to the hamlet and planted there, but the natives never made sweet yam gardens. However, sweet yam is said to have

241 been the first vegetable to be planted on the limestone islands. Old people say that it was there before the Tongan conquest, but that gardening began with the coming of the Tongans. *Kawai* is esteemed on the limestone islands. It grows wild on Mothe and Namuka, but is cultivated on Fulanga, Kambara, and Ongea.

Natives say that in the past a feast was held in the village after the planting of the first yam.

Sugar cane

Sugar cane grows on some islands of Lau. Mothe has little cane and does not plant it. About two square meters of cane land is found on Kambara. Occasionally the cane is cut down, but it grows again. Fulanga and Ongea grow no sugar cane. (For sugar cane on Lakemba see Hocart, 15, p. 107.)

Maize, cabbage, onions

There are a few patches of maize (*siliva*) on each island. One or two ears are often seen hanging in the house to be planted in October or November. When the ears ripen in the months of February and March, they are brought home by men and usually eaten raw, but Lauans do not especially like corn.

Chinese cabbage (*kapetchi*) is well liked, but is planted in very small quantities on some islands.

Lauans like onions and plant a few at any time of the year.

FRUIT TREES

Coconut

245 The most common varieties of coconut are the following: ***niu wai*** (water coconut) also called ***niu ni Tonga*** (Tongan coconut), ***niu rerenga*** (yellow coconut), ***niu ndrau*** (one *hundred coconuts*), ***niu ni mangimangi*** (sennit coconut); and ***niu leka*** (short coconut). The ***niu wai*** grows largest of all coconuts but does not have a fine flavor. It has a thick husk and shell. The plantations, running along the beach wherever the cliff retreats, have few ***niu wai***, because this variety has not been known long in Lau. ***Niu rerenga*** is so called because the leaves are yellow green. The flesh of the ***niu rerenga*** is especially white. ***Niu ndrau*** grow in one close cluster. They are small (about the size of a man's fist), but have the finest flavor, are excellent for drinking, and have a thin husk and shell. [283] ***Niu ni mangimangi*** is considerably longer than any other variety, therefore it furnishes the longest and also the toughest fiber for sennit. The ***niu leka*** tree grows only up to 5 meters, and yields a good crop. It is found only in the villages or in young plantations.

Coconuts are planted at any time of year, usually at the side of or behind a house. The nut is covered with a little soil, and when the sprout is about 40 cm. high the nut is transplanted to a spot in a coconut grove where a tree

has died. A shallow hole in the sand is dug by hand, with a stick, or with a 245
large shell. Usually nuts are transplanted at sunset. Natives say that if the planter carries someone, preferably a young boy, on his back while planting, the tree will bear more fruit. Trees on the leeward side of the island are sturdier than those on the windward side. The best harvests are gathered from trees between 10 and 60 years of age.

Good qualities in a coconut are considered by Lauans to be a thin husk and a thin shell to admit the sun, which sweetens milk and growing meat.

Ono has the reputation for having the best flavored coconuts, Lakemba for the greatest quantity of nuts. The soil of Kambara is a little too sandy for coconuts. The trees growing on Ndelaioloi are said to bring forth the largest number and the best fruit on the island. Mothe has many coconuts. On Fulanga and Ongea the trees are small and do not bear so well as on the other islands. Namuka has large groves, but many trees are unhealthy.

There are several coconut pests. *Mate ni niu* (coconut death) is caused [136]
by the purple moth (*Levuana iridescens*) and is greatly feared. The branches
of the tree turn rust brown or black, drop, and the tree dies. In recent years [654]
the colonial government has sent an insect-eating fly (*Ptychomyia remota*)
imported from the Malay States, to the infected islands and the pest is rapidly
retreating. Coconut crabs, of which there are many on Wangava, break the
nuts on the ground and eat them or leave them to spoil. On Komo, a rat
is said to climb the tree and "eat" the young nuts. Some coconut trees are
killed by a fern which grows in the branch fork.

Every part of the coconut tree is used. Coconut oil is indispensable. [439]
Copra is still used in limited quantities in exchange for western trade goods,
especially tobacco, kerosene, and cloth. The meat is an important food for
human beings, pigs, and chickens. It is the first food given to a baby. The [853]
milk is drunk and used in preparing fish and greens. The husk is used for [272]
sennit and kindling, the wood is used for fuel and is split into roof laths,
the leaves are used for baskets, and the midribs of the leaflets for brooms.
Whole leaves are made into mats for house walls, floor mats, and thatch. The [278]
root is used as medicine and the reticulum serves as a medicine bag. The [373]
spathes make the best torches. The branches are used in fishing, and the [284]
elastic thick middle rib, freed of its foliage, is used as a lash.

The harvest of nuts for copra is picked off the ground by women. Several nuts are carried on one arm pressed against the body and one nut is carried in the free hand of the other arm. They are placed in a row on the path or thrown into an enclosure fenced with vertically placed sticks. The nuts are split by kneeling women, the meat poked out with a stick, shell, or cane knife and put into baskets. It is then placed on boards, usually on the beach outside the grove, to dry.

Breadfruit

245 Breadfruit (*uto*) is an important food in southern Lau. The varieties of breadfruit are: *uto ntchina* (true breadfruit, considered the best), *miramira, uto yalewa, mbuto,* and *mbale kana*. They differ in size of fruit, smoothness of surface, and shape of leaves.

Most breadfruit trees are found directly in or immediately around the village. On Mothe about 30 acres of breadfruit grove stretch along the foot of a hill, protected on the sea side by a good coconut grove. On Fulanga special care has been taken to grow breadfruit. In the villages, trees are planted wherever there is space. Kambara and Ongea grow little breadfruit.

Part of the breadfruit root is planted. If the planting spot is sandy and exposed to the sun, black or brown soil is brought to cover the root and protect it from the sun. In the village, a newly planted cutting is surrounded by vertical sticks or stones to protect it from chickens and pigs.

Breadfruit is picked off the trees by either men or women by means of a long, forked stick.

On Mothe and Fulanga breadfruit is second to manioc as a food staple whereas on the other islands sweet potato ranks second. Part of the breadfruit crop is fermented and stored.

[177] Moto of Undu says: "When I was a boy we had breadfruit, but my father told me they did not have it when the people of Undu lived at Thakenaloa [an old village site deserted approximately 100 years ago]."

Bananas

Varieties of bananas (*vuntchi*) are: *tchaina* (China, the natives distinguish three types of *tchaina*: long, medium, and short); *waiwai* (large and long, must be cooked a long time); *saivula* (the flesh has the same qualities as *waiwai*, but is yellow in either the ripe or unripe state); *pata* (a good banana either cooked or raw; thin fine leaves make the best cigarette paper, *saluka*); *linga ni marama* (lady finger, short and curved like a slender finger); and *puka* (grown on Namuka). Two other varieties, *vuntchi ni tangane* (boys' banana) and *sese wangga,* are said to have died out.

The *tchaina* is the most common banana, except on Ongea and Fulanga where the *papa* variety ranks first. As a rule, at least one banana tree is found at the side of each house, especially on Fulanga and Ongea. Most bananas on Kambara grow on the slopes of Ndelaioloi and behind Undu near the cliff.

Banana shoots are planted by men. In soil loosened with a stick, a hole is made with a stick, shell, or coconut cup. Formerly the quality of the shoots was determined by throwing them at the hole. If the shoot missed the hole,

to plant it was a waste of time and soil. Most people today plant the shoots 245
without testing them by this method.

Bananas are harvested by men only. Usually the bunches are picked and 245
hung from beams in the house to ripen. If wrapped in tapa to exclude light 252
they turn yellow quickly. Sometimes a bunch is tied to a stick resting across the mouth of a hole in the ground so that the bunch hangs in the hole; then the hole is covered. The bananas ripen quickly without the skins turning yellow.

Nothing is done to fight the several banana pests. Young banana shoots 245
are killed by a black beetle (*Cosmopolites sordidus*) which eats its way into 136
the heart. Bats, especially the flying fox, eat bananas and many birds attack them.

Papaya

Papaya (*lewetchi, Carica papaya*) trees are found on all the islands of Lau. Wherever there is a chance clearing in the bush there are papaya trees, seeded by birds; but the fruit is small through lack of sun or exposure to wind. Papaya seeds are strewn carelessly. As the sprouts come to the surface a few stones are placed around them for protection. Within three months a tree is 2 to 3 meters high. The fruit is best during the first and second year. The main crop is ripe about November, December, and January, but papayas are eaten throughout the year. The fruit which weighs up to six pounds is picked off the tree with a stick. Papaya is not valued highly by the natives.

NON-FOOD PLANTS

Pandanus

Pandanus grows well on Kambara, and especially well on Wangava. On 249
Fulanga it is good and plentiful. The leaves have a special softness, do not break when dry, and make fine smooth mats. Namuka has little pandanus.

Pandanus grows best in the shade and in damp soil. Usually it is found as an underbrush in coconut groves. Occasionally one sees a patch in the bush. It is planted by men or women, preferably during the rainy season. A crown shoot about 0.5 meter long is cut out of a plant and part of it is shoved into a hole dug in the ground. The first leaves are cut after one year of growth, but they are too weak and small to make good mats. The leaves are best in the third and fourth years of growth. They are cut in the dry months, about 5 or 6 cm. from the trunk. A plant that has grown so high that the leaves cannot be cut while the cutter is standing on the ground is bent.

Paper mulberry

248 The paper mulberry (*masi*) is found on all the islands of Lau. *Masi ntchina* is the most common variety and the best for making barkcloth. It is cultivated extensively in the gardens of Namuka. On the other islands it usually is found in moist, damp places near the village, the trees scattered, not planted in rows as on Namuka. Ongea, Fulanga, and Kambara have grown the paper mulberry only for the last 10 years. Old people say that it grew on Kambara a long time ago, but died out, and that 10 years ago plants were imported from the island of Totoya.

The paper mulberry is planted by men only, preferably during the dry season. Women cut down the trees when they have reached a diameter of about 6 cm. and make barkcloth from the inner bark.

Tobacco

249
276
[177]
Since tobacco was introduced into Lau in historic times, the demand for it has been great and constant. However, though it will grow on all the islands, little tobacco is planted. Namuka produces more than any other island of the southern group.

The tobacco seed is planted by men only. When the plants are about 7 cm. high they are transplanted and laid out in rows about a meter apart. The leaves are cut by men, but women hang them up to dry. They tie the leaves together in pairs and hang them over a cord in the house, for they must not dry in the sun.

Tobacco is smoked by both sexes. Usually the leaves are rolled into a dry banana leaf and smoked like a cigarette.

Fragrant plants

249
303
Several plants are cultivated for perfuming coconut oil. *Makosoi (Canangium odoratum)* is a small shrub which usually grows on the sandy flat behind the village near the limestone cliff. It is planted at any time by either men or women. Women pick the flowers and extract the oil from them.

Langakali (Elacocharis articu[illegible] is a shrub which grows wild in the bush but which is planted in the villa[illegible] women. The wild plants bloom from March to July but the cultivated o[illegible]es bloom all year round. The flowers are used for perfume.

[757] *Makita (Parinarium glaberrimum)* is cultivated on Mothe and Kambara by men and women. The fruit is used for perfuming oil, for dyeing the hair, and for medicine. The natives claim it cures sores on the skin.

Sandalwood (*yasi*) is the favorite perfume. The tree does not grow well and the bark is not very fragrant in southern Lau. The women plant a few trees by seed, but the best sandalwood comes from Mbua on Vanau Mbalavu.

PREPARATION OF FOOD

In Lau there is one main meal a day which is eaten just after sundown. 264 Left over food is eaten cold the next morning. In general, however, the Lauan eats throughout the day whatever he can find in the bush. Sometimes a morning meal is prepared and eaten between nine and eleven o'clock. Occasionally when the men are working in the village women boil a pot of manioc for them. When they are in the garden, however, the men often prepare garden produce in an earth oven for a morning meal. A man for whom communal work is done provides a small morning feast for the workers.

Most of the activities of each day are directed toward procuring enough 262 food for the evening meal. During the greater part of the year on most islands the evening meal consists of steamed manioc, sweet potato, or breadfruit, and greens boiled in coconut cream with or without fish. If there is no fish or meat the meal is considered poor.

From one to three closely related households within the same clan or sub- 252 clan form a food group. They share a kitchen hut (kitchen huts have been 264 introduced by the colonial government) and an earth oven, and prepare and eat their food together. Cooking arrangements may be shared by a household consisting of a man, his wife, and their children and another household of a married son, his wife, and their children. Or they may be shared by a household consisting of a man, his wife, and their children and another household consisting of the man's widowed sister and her children. (See table 1 and figure 3, K14, 15 and K19, 20.) Occasionally a single household has its own kitchen hut and earth oven (table 1; figure 3, K16, K21). Boiling was formerly done in the dwelling house on the hearth.

There is a strict sex division of labor in regard to the preparation of 252 food in Lau, and there is a general division in the type of food prepared by each sex. Usually the men cook the food they have raised, such as garden produce, while the women cook the greens and fish they have procured. The men do the major part of the cooking including all the steaming, roasting, boiling with hot stones, preparing sweet puddings, and fermenting in salt water. The women do all the boiling in pots and fermenting by burial in the ground.

Fuel for the kitchen is gathered in the bush by the adolescent girls of each [482 food group. The bundle of wood is strapped to the back by means of native 313] rope. The rope is looped over the shoulder and under each arm and crossed over the bundle behind.

The cooking places of men and women are separate. The women do all their cooking in kitchen huts, usually located near the sleeping houses with which they are associated. The men use the earth ovens located on the edge of the village. The location and communal use of kitchens and earth ovens in Tokalau is shown in figure 3 (table 1). Women or uncircumcized boys are

252 not allowed to participate in the preparation of food for the earth oven. However, in households today, where there is a shortage of adult males, uncircumcized boys and occasionally even women help.

Usually the oldest active woman in each kitchen group directs the procuring and preparation of food to be boiled. When the group includes the mothers of both husband and wife, the husband's mother takes precedence. (As shown in table 1 and figure 3, K22, 23, 24 is supervised by 118.) When the group includes the wife and the husband's sister, the wife takes precedence if she is about the same age as the husband's sister, whereas the husband's sister takes precedence if she is older than the wife. (As shown in figure 3 and table 1, K19, 20 is supervised by 91, whereas K8, 9, 11 is supervised by 35.) The activities centering around the earth oven are directed by the oldest active man in each earth-oven group. I found no native term for the supervisor of the kitchen or of the earth oven.

264 The evening meal is usually eaten in the kitchen hut. An eating mat is laid on the ground, food placed on it, and the group sits around it. The highest ranking man sits at the head, the men and boys seated according to rank on his right side. The women sit on his left side, and the young girls serve.

[415] Food from the earth oven is served on breadfruit or banana leaves or on plates of plaited coconut leaf. Large fish are placed on a wooden fish platter (*i sovasova ni ika*) and divided into portions according to rank. The head of the fish, the center of mana, goes to the highest ranking man. Soup is served in cups (*mbilo*) of half coconut shells. Eating is done with the fingers.
[515] After the meal a finger bowl of fresh water is passed first to the head of the group, then to the other members.

FIRE MAKING

372 A native from the island of Kambara made fire in three minutes by the following method:

> He took a dry log of *yasiyasi*, one section (about 5 by 30 cm.) of which had been stripped of bark. He sat down and placed the log in front of him with the exposed surface on the upper side nearest him. He held a small, dry, pointed stick, 3.5 cm. in diameter and 35 cm. long, in his left hand as one holds a pencil, the right hand partly covering the left. He rubbed the pointed end along the exposed surface of the log until a groove formed in the log and wood dust collected at the end of the groove. When the wood dust began to smoke, he wound a piece of coconut reticulum into a coil and shook the smoking wood dust into the coil. He then took the coil in both hands and waved it to-and-fro until it caught fire.

For fire making *(nita)*, *waro* and *nawanawa (Cordia subcordata)* woods are preferred. Sticks are dried and stored on the beams in the lower end of the house. Fire is transported by lighting the split end of a coconut spathe and wrapping it in pandanus.

STEAMING

The small earth oven (*lovo*) used daily in Lau is prepared as follows: 252

354 A circular pit at least 1 meter wide and 0.5 meter deep is dug in the ground. The same pit is used repeatedly. Wood for fuel is collected in the bush by boys, usually younger brothers of the earth-oven group. Fuel is laid in the pit, and on top of the fuel are placed 30 or more stones. Round basaltic stones of uniform size, weighing about 2.5 to 3 pounds, are preferred. (Frequently basalt stones are imported from the volcanic islands. When basalt stones are not available stones of limestone are used. A set of earth-oven stones is used over a long period of time.) Unless imported matches are available the fuel is lighted by means of a burning brand from a neighboring fire. If there is no fire to be had it is made as described above. As the fire burns the stones fall to the bottom of the pit and are spread out with a stick.

Breadfruit is either steamed whole or steamed after being scraped with a shell, dried in the sun, and cut in halves. Breadfruit is placed in the oven first, directly on the hot stones. If no breadfruit is to be steamed, the hot stones are covered with a layer of green leaves such as *viavia (Crinum asiaticum)* before the food is put into the oven. Sweet potatoes are washed and manioc roots washed and scraped before being put into the oven. For a feast they are wrapped in small coconut-leaf baskets. Tahitian chestnuts are steamed in their shells. Pumpkin and papaya are cut in pieces, cleaned, and placed skin down on the top layer of food in the oven. If pumpkin or breadfruit alone is in the oven sticks are placed across the oven before it is covered. To close the oven two or three thick layers of non-poisonous leaves, such as *viavia, sitchi (Grewia crenata),* banana, or breadfruit are placed over the food; then a layer of dry coconut-leaf baskets or old gunny sacks; and finally a layer of earth tightly packed so that no steam can escape. After three or four hours the layers of earth and leaves are carefully removed. 252 [824] [824]

The poisonous varieties of manioc are made into a sort of pudding called *tapioke solo* by the following method. Peeled manioc roots are grated on the rough side of a piece of tin in which holes have been punctured. The tin grater is often fastened to a board and placed in a wooden bowl. A man sits on the ground, the bowl between his outstretched legs, or he sits astraddle a log to which the grater has been nailed. The gratings fall onto a coconut leaf. When tin is not available, a slab of fine coral is used as a grater, as was done in olden times. Fresh water is mixed with the grated manioc in the bowl and the mixture is strained by being squeezed through strips of the inner bark of the hibiscus fastened together at one end. The fibrous part of the manioc which is strained out is set in the sun to dry, usually on a piece of sheet iron, and the residue in the bowl is allowed to settle. Later the water is poured off and the starch, from which the poison has been extracted, remains at the bottom of the bowl. The starch is mixed with the dry manioc and the mixture is made by hand into balls about 6 cm. in diameter. Dry grated coconut is occasionally mixed with the manioc just before it is made into balls. Each ball is wrapped separately in breadfruit, *valevale,* or ti leaves as follows:

If a breadfruit leaf is used, the ball is placed near the base of the leaf. The upper part of the leaf is then bent over the ball and the leaf drawn together to form a bag around the ball. The bag is tied with a strip of pandanus as follows: Loop the pandanus over the thumb of the hand which holds the bag of pudding upright, pass the pandanus back under the thumb below the ball of pudding, wind the pandanus around the ball twice, cut it with the teeth, pull the free end upward through the loop over the thumb, pull the other end down tight and close the loop. This ties the knot. Cut off the extra pandanus with the teeth. If *valevale* leaves are used to wrap the pudding, place two leaves at right angles, in the form of a cross, place ball on the intersection, draw the leaves up over the ball and tie with pandanus as described above. If ti leaves are used, place the ball on a ti leaf folded in half with tip meeting base, draw the leaf tightly around the ball to form a bag and with the teeth pull down a strand from the lower end of the midrib of the ti leaf, pass the strand around the ball twice and knot in the same way.

The bags of pudding are placed in the oven below the sweet potatoes.

Turtle, which is eaten only at a feast, is prepared on Kambara as follows:

The animal, lying on its back, is killed by a blow on the head with a stone. Then the fore and hind flippers are removed with a knife. The turtle is turned over and boiling water is poured onto the back shell. The end of a pointed, chisel-like stick is shoved under the plate closest to the neck. The plate is lifted, hot water poured into the opening, and the stick shoved deeper until the plate loosens. When all the back plates are thus removed, the turtle is placed on its back again and the belly shell is removed in one piece by first cutting around it and then cutting and lifting it off. If the turtle is being prepared for a chief, the cutting around the belly shell starts at the back, otherwise at the side. Next, by starting at the chest and working toward the rear, the meat is taken out. It is placed in a wooden food bowl, and cut into small pieces. Then comes the most important part of the preparations. The leader of the feast selects the portions to be given to each household, the quality of the meat and the size of the portion depending on rank. Cuts from the head of the turtle are for the chief. Each portion is placed in a scorched, double banana leaf, the midrib of which has been trimmed to make it pliable. The banana leaf is pleated into a bag, half a tumbler of water is added, the bag is covered with two *viavia* leaves, and the whole is tied with a strip of leaf. Each bag is marked with a sign known only to the maker—such as a special knot, an extra leaf, or a mark on the leaf—so that it may be identified later and presented to the proper household. The bags of turtle meat are placed on the *viavia* leaves covering the hot stones in the earth oven, the largest bag in the center. More leaves are placed over the bags, then over the whole is set the inverted lower shell of the turtle, then another layer of leaves, a layer of old coconut-leaf baskets, and finally earth. The oven is opened after three or four hours. The bones and viscera of the turtle are boiled into soup, if possible in a kerosene tin.

Pork is eaten only at a feast. It is prepared as follows:

The pig's throat is cut with a bamboo knife and the blood allowed to flow freely. The pig is then slung, back down, on a pole and singed over the fire. Next the entrails are removed through a slit in the belly, which is later filled with hot stones wrapped in leaves. The pig is then ready for the oven. If yams are used they are cut in pieces and placed next to the hot stones. The pig is placed, legs down, on top of the yams or other garden produce. The whole is covered with hibiscus leaves and finally with earth. Pigs to be eaten immediately are steamed for about four hours. Pigs to be distributed and taken home are steamed a shorter time. Before being eaten they are cut into pieces and boiled.

ROASTING

Roasting is a quick method of preparing food. Breadfruit is often placed whole, stem down, directly on the coals or placed on sticks across the oven pit above a fire in which stones are heated. After roasting, the skin of the breadfruit is quickly removed with a small, sharp stick. The breadfruit is ready to be eaten or be made into pudding. Wild yams and bush fruits are often roasted over an open fire in the bush. After roasting they are scraped, dipped in salt water, and eaten. 252

BOILING IN POTS

Food was formerly boiled in earthenware pots (*kuro*), but now large imported iron pots are used. The fire is laid at one end of the kitchen and the pots are placed upon two iron rods above it. It is fanned with a pandanus-leaf fan (*iri*). The pots are covered with dry breadfruit leaves, which fall from the trees in the village and are gathered when needed. [415] [439]

Sweet potato and non-poisonous manioc are usually boiled in fresh water, but most of the boiling is done in coconut cream (*lolo*). Coconut cream is made as follows:

> Ripe nuts are husked by ripping the husk open at the stem end of the nut on the upturned pointed end of a husking stake (*ndoko*). The strip of husk, which has been freed, is pulled off by hand. The process is repeated until the husk has been removed. The nut is then halved by one blow from a cane knife and the flesh is grated on the tooth edged, upturned end of a piece of iron attached to a board. A person sits on the board astride the rod and grates into a wooden bowl. (Usually little girls do the grating for the kitchens.) Coconut milk is added to the gratings and the mixture is strained with a hibiscus strainer.

Salt is not manufactured in Lau. According to Tchosaia of Tokalau, formerly salt water was sometimes used for boiling. Today it is little used in pots although food is occasionally soaked or dipped in salt water before being eaten. [263]

Mboro, the daily boiled dish, is made of greens and coconut cream with or without fish. Leaves of the cabbage, the sweet potato, *mboroa sovivi* (*Ipomea gracilis*), *mbele*, pumpkin, or manioc are picked from the stems. They are placed in the pot with coconut cream and some of the coconut gratings from which the liquid has been extracted for coconut cream. Fish or shellfish, if available, are added to the greens and coconut cream, and the pot is covered with a slightly dry breadfruit leaf and boiled slowly for about two hours.

Fish or shellfish are cleaned on the beach, but scales are not removed from the fish.

Soups are popular but are not made every day. A delicious fish soup called *ika vakalolo* is made by boiling fish in coconut cream to which a few small red peppers (*rokete*) have been added.

During the breadfruit season the main meal on Fulanga consists of breadfruit, peeled, cut into pieces, and stewed with shellfish in coconut cream.

In the papaya season a dish called *sepo* is prepared. Peeled, slightly green papayas are boiled in water until soft and grated manioc and grated coconut are added just before serving.

STONE BOILING

I saw the technique of boiling with hot stones used only once in Lau. The method was used at Naivindamu, Fulanga, in the preparation of *nggalu sua*, a pudding of *yambia*, for a wedding feast. *Yambia* is a slightly poisonous tuber, formerly a staple food in Lau. The poison is extracted as follows:

> *Yambia* roots are washed and then grated on sticks wound with sennit. A hoop-shaped stick is sewn to the mouth of a gunny sack. The sack is filled with a mixture of grated *yambia* and water and hung from a wooden tripod over a wooden bowl. The strained liquid, caught in a bowl, is allowed to settle. When the starch has settled at the bottom of the bowl the liquid is poured off, more water is added, allowed to settle and again poured off. The starch is then dried in the sun. If not used immediately it is put into bags of coconut reticulum, again dried in the sun, and finally stored.

The *nggalu sua* was cooked as follows:

> About 50 basalt earth-oven stones were heated in an open fire. A large wooden bowl or trough, 2 meters long and 30 cm. deep, was one third filled with *yambia* starch. The bowl was placed near the fire and made secure by placing a log crosswise under one end and driving two stakes into the ground, one on each side and touching the other end of the bowl. The stakes were tied tightly together over the top of the bowl with a tough vine. Fresh water was added to the starch and thoroughly mixed by hand. Then one stone from the fire was dropped into the mixture to test it. Coated with starch, it was shown to the leader of the feast, who decided whether or not more water should be added to the mixture. Then, one by one, all the hot stones were dropped into the bowl while the mixture was stirred vigorously by two boys, each with a straight branch of *moli*, about 2 meters long, from the lower end of which the bark had been removed. The hot stones were taken from the fire with a half coconut shell and a stick, or with a discarded *i yali* (the lower end of the midrib of a coconut leaf shaped into a sort of paddle), from which a wedge shaped piece had been removed to form tongs. The mixture boiled and thickened into a gelatinous, amber-colored mass. Two boys, dipping their hands frequently into salt water in a bowl to moisten and cool them, removed the stones, one by one, and closed air holes in the mass. The salt water slightly darkened the color of the starch. Finally small handfuls were wrapped together with *ti lolo* (pudding sauce sweetened with ti) in banana leaves, which had been made flexible by shaving the back of the midrib. They were then ready for distribution with the feast.

SWEET PUDDINGS

Sweet puddings (*nggalu*), which accompany every feast, are made with or without a sauce. Sweet sauce is added to puddings made of manioc, breadfruit, taro, or *yambia*. Puddings with a sauce are often served and eaten as soon as they are made, before the earth ovens have been opened and the feast distributed. The sauce is sweetened with sugar cane, ti, or imported sugar. 252 Stalks of sugar cane are ground on a sharp piece of coral called *i thoronga* and strained with a hibiscus strainer. The juice is placed in a large pot and [412] stirred over the fire with a paddle-shaped stick called *i yali,* made for the occasion out of the lower end of a coconut-leaf midrib. The resulting caramel mixture is called *salasalaki.* Coconut cream (*lolo*) is added slowly to the *salasalaki* and the whole is boiled. The sauce is called *loloriri.*

To make manioc pudding (*mavu*) roots of the poisonous varieties are first made into *tapioke solo* (p. 153). Roots of nonpoisonous varieties are scraped and boiled. The cooked manioc is placed in a long oblong wooden bowl. Two boys, one sitting at each end of the bowl, hold it between their legs, while two young men, one standing on each side of the bowl, pound the mass with pounders (*i mbutu ni nggalu*) made from the lower end of the midrib of a coconut leaf. The pounding is done rapidly and in rhythm, first one lifting and lowering his pounder and then the other. Every three or four minutes fresh men replace the pair who are pounding. The two holding the bowl are replaced less frequently. The pounding continues for about 20 minutes. An older man then sprinkles some sauce over the mass and mixes it by hand. Then he takes some of the pudding in each hand and squeezes each handful quickly into three balls (*nggelena* or *nggele ni nggalu*), which fall into one corner of the bowl. When he has about 15 balls he sprinkles some sauce on a scorched, folded banana leaf (on which the midrib has been trimmed), places the balls on the leaf, and adds more sauce. Another man pleats the leaf into a bag and ties it. A bag of pudding is called *i thovo nggalu. Mavu* is also made of roasted breadfruit or of boiled or steamed taro.

Puddings without sauce are made of manioc, sweet potato, Tahitian chestnut, banana, taro, and *yambia.* Some pudding recipes follow:

Malimali. Peeled ripe bananas are pounded by hand in a wooden bowl. Dry *yambia* starch and the milk of green coconuts is added. The mass is mixed and divided into portions, each portion is wrapped in a scorched banana leaf, then in breadfruit or ti leaves and steamed.

Vakalolo vuntchi (banana pudding). Coconut cream is added to peeled, ripe, pounded bananas. The mixture is divided into portions, which are wrapped in banana leaves and steamed.

Vovo. Green bananas are boiled, peeled, and pounded. Grated coconut is added and the pudding is ready to eat.

Tololo. A mixture is prepared as for *tapioke solo.* Before steaming, coconut cream and grated coconut are added.

Tahitian chestnut pudding. Grated Tahitian chestnuts, grated coconut, and coconut cream are mixed and divided into portions which are wrapped in ti leaves and steamed.

PRESERVING

Fermented food (*mandrai*) is especially important on Fulanga, where any 251 surplus of food is preserved for times of scarcity. Manioc imported from

251 Mothe, Namuka, or Komo to Fulanga is made into *mandrai*. The two methods of fermenting are soaking in salt water and burying in the ground. The salt water method, used mainly by the men, serves to preserve food for a short time. Baskets of manioc are fastened to stakes in a sheltered spot in the lagoon. When needed the roots are scraped, pounded, mixed with grated coconut, made into balls, wrapped in breadfruit leaves, and either steamed or boiled (pl. *2, B*). *Mandrai* is also made in pits of brackish water. One such pit, called Neikathi, is located at Nggaralevu, south of Undu on Kambara. The pit is about 10 meters deep and the water is reached by means of a wooden ladder. The pit was formerly also used for soaking *wangiri* nuts.

Food may be preserved for a year or more by the burial method described as follows:

> A hole (called *alua ni mandrai*), about 1 meter deep and 2 meters in diameter, is dug in the ground. It is lined with three thicknesses of freshly made *mbola,* coconut leaves split from the midrib and plaited. The freshly plaited coconut leaves are placed with split midribs toward the rim of the hole, the leaves radiating toward the center. The first row extends about 30 cm. outside the rim of the hole. Above the plaited coconut leaves is a layer of banana leaves, which have been dried in the sun and from which the inner side of the midrib has been stripped. The food to be preserved is placed on the banana leaves. Such a pit holds about 100 pounds of scraped manioc. Over the food is placed another layer of banana and another of plaited coconut leaves. The whole is weighed down with heavy stones.

Breadfruit and banana are also fermented in this fashion. If preserved food is kept for some time in a *mandrai* pit, the banana and coconut-leaf lining must be changed frequently. One pit is used repeatedly.

PREPARATION OF BUSH FOOD

252 *Wangiri,* the chief food of olden times, is said to have been prepared as follows:

> The *wangiri* nuts were first roasted on a bed of coals in order to crack the shells. Next they were soaked in brackish water for at least "four nights." Finally, they were either boiled in pots or steamed in an earth oven. For a hurried meal the nuts were roasted.

Roots of the *yaka (Pueraria thunbergiana)* were steamed in the earth oven or roasted.

The fruit of the *tarai* were strung together on a stick and steamed in the earth oven, then the skin was removed. The *tarai* was also boiled or eaten raw.

The *mbawaki, yaumitha,* and *nggalaka* fruit were also steamed. The *yaumitha* was first wrapped in breadfruit or *vanua* leaves. It was also roasted.

Tree grubs (*yavatou*) were wrapped in *vanua* or *vavale* leaves and steamed or boiled. They were frequently eaten raw.

The preparation of greens is described on page 155.

MEN'S CRAFTS

House Building

DWELLING HOUSES

The principal house type is the sleeping or dwelling house (*vale ni mothe*) 342 used by the household. Generally when a young man's marriage is arranged, a site is selected and plans are made for building a house. Occasionally the house is started or even completed before the wedding, so that the young couple may move into it on the wedding day. Usually, however, a year or more passes after the wedding before the house is finished.

The main problem in house building is payment for labor. The house site is clan property, for the use of which the individual pays nothing. Materials 342 consist chiefly of wood from the bush which is free to all. But for the labor, 465 in which the whole village assists, the house owner and his clan must pay in 463 the form of a series of feasts for the workers, one feast for each working day. A worker suspends his own activities, normally the procuring and preparing of the evening meal. Hence housebuilding involves a reciprocal exchange of labor for food.

The carpenter, on the other hand, receives, besides the largest and best [335] share of the daily feast, a gift of tapa, mats, and kava (called *kamunanga ni thakathaka*) in return for his skilled labor. These gifts may be classed as wages. After the work has been completed, these gifts are taken to the house of the carpenter by the owner and some members of his clan and are presented ceremonially to the carpenter. The kava ceremony follows, if kava is part of the offering.

On islands where food is not abundant, provision for the series of feasts necessary to complete even a small house requires initiative and forethought. The resources of the whole clan are utilized. Building an ordinary dwelling house requires a year to two and is a strain on the resources of the clan. Usually the owner must solicit from relatives in other villages, thus incurring further obligations. Hence, not many new houses are built. Unless his home is destroyed by a hurricane, a man usually builds only one house during his lifetime.

While I was on Kambara four houses were under construction: two in 342 Tokalau, one in Nggalinggali, and one in Undu. One house in Tokalau and the house in Undu had been started before I arrived and were completed before I left. When I visited Namuka and Mothe no houses were under construction. On Ongea one house and on Fulanga one house in Muanaithake and one in Naivindamu were being built.

Well-built houses last several decades, but the strong hardwood beams last much longer. The main supporting posts (*nduru*) made of greenheart, 342 last longest and are used for more than one house. The tie beam plates (*kathu mbalavu*) and the lower tie beams (*i thoka*) also are reused. So far as the natives know, the oldest beams in the village of Tokalau (fig. 3, house no. 10) are 70 years old. The house itself has been rebuilt. The ages of some houses in the village are recorded in table 1.

The most perishable part of the house is the thatched roof and walls which are repaired or renewed every few years.

The most permanent and important part of the house is the earth mound (*yavu*) on which the house is erected. It is oval in shape, a few centimeters to 2 meters high, and it is faced by a stone wall. Small houses are placed on the ground and are surrounded by an oval ring of stones. A new house is usually built upon an old mound. Vacant mounds in a village resemble vacant lots. In recent years the height of the mound depended on the rank of the owner, but today it depends on his energy and resources. However, the house of a chief always is built on a high mound. In general there is a correlation between the size of the house and the height of the mound.

In old village sites the mounds are not large and high. They are rectangular in shape but usually without definite angles and corner plates. The natives say that in olden days the houses were smaller than they are today and were rectangular in ground plan.

[513 484] Many people had no houses at all but lived in caves. Moto of Undu says that when he was a child he lived with his family in a cave. Today the natives often sleep in caves when they stay over night on uninhabited islands, even when shelters are available.

342 552 The names and locations of the house sites of great ancestors have been handed down from generation to generation and are still known by the natives. With the clan incarnations and titles they are regarded as part of the sacred property of the clan. Mbalavu, the house site of Ndaunisai, is said to be located in Korokoroilulu, a village site above Tokalau. Vatu Soro, the house site of Vuanikathu clan, is located on Ndelaioloi. Today each dwelling house is given a name by the owner or, at the request of the owner, by a visitor from another island. Often a place name is chosen.

Tongan house type

342 [517] The Tongan type of dwelling house (pl. 4, *A*), called *vale vaka Tonga*, is the rule in Lau today. It is similar in important details of structure to the principal Tongan house type described by McKern (18). The framework is rectangular with rounded ends forming an oval ground plan. The gable roof is curved into a gothic arch. The beauty of the house, in the eyes of the natives, lies in its long, curved roof and rounded ends. The most important style point is the roof. To obtain the desired curve the roof is hung from the ridgepole, bowed out by means of roof plates and tie beam plates, and weighed

down by means of wall plates. The rounded ends, which are added to the main framework, involve much labor; but they are considered more pleasing than the straight ends of the rectangular house on Viti Levu. 342 [517]

Today a level, open place with a fresh sea breeze is sought for a house site, whereas formerly a man wanted to be near his neighbors. If possible a site is chosen in the hamlet of the man's own clan. If there are no suitable sites in his own clan-hamlet a man asks for a site in the hamlet of his mother (p. 122). 342 361

If the owner (*taukei*) is a carpenter (*matai*) he usually does the carpenter's work himself, otherwise he chooses a carpenter from his own village. He makes his request at the carpenter's house without the ceremonial presentation of property. The carpenter is in charge of the house building. Before building starts he consults the owner about every part of the house. The carpenter does the work requiring skill and experience, such as the ornamental lashings, and directs the building operations. The owner supervises the whole process. The natives say they can recognize the style of each carpenter by the proportions and curve of the roof, although carpenters have no specific trade marks. Each carpenter knows a few simple lashing designs. For especially fine lashing a specialist from another village is occasionally employed. A specialist in lashing knows a large number of designs. 342 335 [284]

Dwelling houses in Tokalau range from small houses like Mburotu (fig. 3, 3) measuring 7 meters long, 4 meters wide, and 5 meters high and built directly on the ground, to large houses like Vale Levu, the house of the chief of Kambara (fig. 3, 1) measuring 12 meters long, 6 meters wide, and 10 meters high, excluding the 1 meter high foundation mound. The largest house in the village besides the mission church is Koro Vou (fig. 3, 26), built as a guest house for visiting chiefs and officials. It is 16 meters long, 7.5 meters wide, and 6.5 meters high, excluding the 60 cm. high foundation mound. The houses in large villages like Nggalinggali on Kambara, Nawatchia on Namuka, Nasau on Mothe, Muanaithake on Fulanga, and Naithulaianga on Ongea average about the same size as the houses in Tokalau. The highest mounds are found in Nasau. In small villages of low rank, like Lomatchi on Kambara, Korotolu on Mothe, and Naivindamu on Fulanga, the houses are smaller. 342

Before the timber is felled, the owner determines the size of the house by deciding on the dimensions of the rectangular ground plan between the main supporting posts (*nduru*). Although the ground plan of the finished house is oval, the size of the house is measured by the length and width of this inner rectangular ground plan exclusive of the rounded ends and the space between the main supporting posts and the walls. The units of measurement are the fathom and the span. Measuring is done with sennit or vines and marked off with a knife, charcoal, or an imported lead pencil. [804]

342 313 A man may either select and cut the timber for his house himself, or make arrangements to have it done by his own village or a related village. If he cuts it himself, he fells the first suitable timber he sees for any part of the house and leaves it until he can get help to haul it to the house site. To [431] procure the help of a village he presents one or more whale's teeth or property such as mats and tapa to the ranking men of the village with his request. At the appointed time the necessary house posts are assigned to groups of men who select, fell, and transport them. The natives use imported metal ax blades, hafted like adzes, for felling timber. Long, heavy beams are carried on the shoulder. Hauling the timber takes two or more days, and during this time the owner provides the daily feast (*i nggaravi ni takathu ai vale*) for the workers.

342 283 The quantity of sennit needed for a house depends on the size of the house and the amount of ornamental lashing to be executed, but for even a small house a large quantity is necessary. An industrious man on Fulanga who was building a house 3.5 fathoms long, 2 fathoms and 2 spans wide, and about 3 fathoms high, estimated that he needed 6,000 fathoms of sennit. This he made in his leisure time, mainly in the evening. To complete such a task [555] takes from six months to one year of steady work. Well-executed ornamental lashing is very much admired by the natives and adds considerably to the owner's prestige. Frequently members of the owner's clan contribute sennit for the house.

342 After the timber has been hauled to the house site, it is shaped and smoothed (*sasau kathu*) by the owner or by the carpenter with metal bladed adzes of various sizes. Inasmuch as the Lauans take great pride in smooth, thick house posts this is slow, careful work.

When the parts of the main framework are ready to be erected, the sennit finished, and the harvest ripe, the day for erecting the main framework is set by the owner and the village headman, who announces it to the village. All the able-bodied men in the village help in the actual work. The old men, giving advice and telling stories, sit in a group under a temporary coconut- [272] leaf thatched pavilion (*vakatu noloa*), near the house site. Properly, kava should be provided by the owner; but on islands where kava is not raised it is often omitted.

On this first day of the actual house building the largest feast of the series is held. It is provided and prepared by the owner and his relatives. The men work on the ovens, and the women fish and boil the food. The women take no part in the actual house building. A small feast (*i takitaki*) is served in the morning at nine or ten o'clock. The main feast (*mangitchi ni kali vaka vale*) is served at four or five in the afternoon. It is distributed by the old men under the direction of the chief of the ceremonial ground or the chief of crops. When the feast is ready the carpenter is notified and work is suspended. The workers eat the feast at the house site immediately, and, if the feast is a large one, each man takes the remainder of his share home to his family in the evening. After the feast, the work continues until dark.

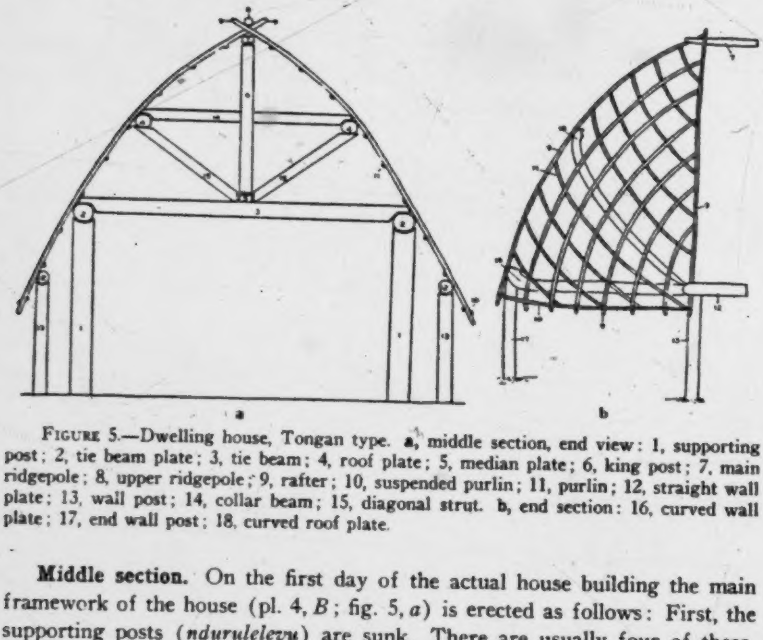


FIGURE 5.—Dwelling house, Tongan type. **a**, middle section, end view: 1, supporting post; 2, tie beam plate; 3, tie beam; 4, roof plate; 5, median plate; 6, king post; 7, main ridgepole; 8, upper ridgepole; 9, rafter; 10, suspended purlin; 11, purlin; 12, straight wall plate; 13, wall post; 14, collar beam; 15, diagonal strut. **b**, end section: 16, curved wall plate; 17, end wall post; 18, curved roof plate.

Middle section. On the first day of the actual house building the main framework of the house (pl. 4, *B*; fig. 5, *a*) is erected as follows: First, the supporting posts (*ndurulelevu*) are sunk. There are usually four of these, but very large houses have six or eight. The supporting posts are logs of greenheart, smoothed and rounded. Holes for the posts are dug by loosening the soil with a digging stick and removing it with a coconut cup (*mbilo*) attached to a stick. Coconut-leaf baskets are used to clear away the soil. The posts are sunk so that one third of the length of the post will be buried when the house mound has been built up and the house is finished. Posts for a medium-sized house are 6 meters long; 2 meters below and 4 above the floor of the house. Next, the two tie beam plates (*kathu mbalavu*) of rounded greenheart beams are lifted up with forked sticks and placed on the supporting posts. The tie beam plates rest in sockets prepared for them. The tie beams (*i thoka*), also rounded greenheart beams, are raised in the same way and placed across the tie beam plates. The tie beams are carefully straightened (*vakandondonu*) and fitted to the tie beam plates. A house with four supporting posts usually has three or four tie beams. Larger houses have six or

342 eight. The joints are then bound with sennit, and then the ornamental lashing (*lawa*) is executed. Next, the median plate (*yavu ni mbou*) is placed across the main tie beams. Today the median plate is a flat plank, but formerly it was rounded. The king posts (*mbou*), also plank shaped, are set upright on the median plate, one king post above each tie beam. The main ridgepole (*ndoka levu*) rests on and is lashed to the king posts. The rafters (*i sa*) are laths cut from the strong, outer part of the trunk of a coconut palm. They are hung from and lashed to the main ridgepole, bark surface outside. The two roof plates (*lewe ni vale*) are lashed to the rafters on the inside and pushed out, to give the roof the desired curve, by plank-shaped collar beams (*i thoka leka* or *soka*), one for every tie beam, which rest upon and are fitted to the roof plates. The collar beams are lashed to the roof plate. In large, well-built houses, diagonal struts (*i lenge*) connect the median plate with the roof plates. Next, the two straight wall-plates (*i nggasinggasi*) are lifted up and lashed near the lower ends of the rafters on the inside. With the roof plates they round out the long curve of the roof. Lastly, two suspended purlins (*i ndere*), consisting of coconut palm laths like the rafters, are lashed to the lower ends of the rafters on the outside.

342
284
552 Ornamental lashing with sennit is used mainly on the tie beam plates where they join the tie beams, and on the tie beams where they join the median plate and the king posts. There is considerable diversity in the designs. The four colors of sennit used are rust, white, black, and yellow. In most houses two or three simple designs in two or three colors are executed by a lashing expert. On Kambara there was one such expert, the *lemaki* carpenter.

Each lashing design has a name. The following designs are said to be old Lauan: *vakamatanindavui* (eye or face of the conch), *kalokalo* (star), *via, thumu, lawavakasaisai, ndrau ni kura* (*kura* leaf), and *kato musu* (*musu* basket). *Vakamatanindavui* is also used on the outrigger boom (*i kaso*). It is considered the easiest to execute and is the first design learned by a carpenter's apprentice. *Matai ndrau* is an old chiefly design used on houses. It has been sketched by Hocart (15, fig. 8, *g*, p. 123). Other designs are called *lawa vaka saisai, kuita, ndra ni mbota, tai sosoi, lalawa talitali, vatchiki ni vula,* and *lawa vakamalungu.* The natives claim that they have more patterns now than [177] they had in the past because new designs are being invented. They also say that in old Lauan houses dyed sennit was never used.

342 The next time the workers meet they erect the purlins (*i yapai*) consisting of laths of coconut palm like the rafters. They are lashed at regular intervals on the inside of and at right angles to the rafters. The upper ridgepole is lashed above the main ridgepole and the rafters.

End sections. After the work on the main frame has been completed, preparations proceed slowly for the next step, the erection of the rounded end

sections (*kumbu*, fig. 5, *b*). First the wood is felled and hauled to the site by 342
the men who agreed to furnish it. Then it is measured, shaped, fitted exactly to the ends of the house, and made smooth. This delicate work is done by the carpenter. The depth of the finished rounded end must equal half the distance between the two wall plates minus one or two spans (25 to 50 cm.). This is determined as follows:

> First the distance between the two straight wall plates is measured with a string. [804]
> The string is doubled and cut in half. One section is shortened by cutting off a length of 1 to 2 spans. The distance between the straight wall plates is measured a second time and, using the measure, two stakes are placed directly below the ends of the wall plates. The point half way between them is determined by the half piece of string and marked by a third stake. The depth and position of the rounded end is then determined by measuring from the third stake to the end of the house with the section of string which was shortened by 1 to 2 spans.

A curved wall plate (*i lolo*), consisting of three arched sections, is then cut into three sections and shaped to measurement. The two end arched sections are called *i turaki* and the middle arched section, *i mboto ni lolo*. The sections are fitted and lashed together with slant joins.

On an appointed day when all is in readiness, the workers meet to set up the rounded end section by the following method:

> The curved wall plate (*i lolo*) is raised by means of a rope tied to the middle section (*i mboto ni lolo*) and slung over the end tie beam and temporarily lashed in position. It is joined to the ends of the straight wall plates by lashing. Holes are dug for the end wall posts (*i nduru ni lolo*). They are erected, and the curved wall plate is lowered onto them by loosening the temporary supporting rope. Next the depth of the curved roof [804]
> plate (*faleano*) is determined by cutting a length of 1 to 2 spans from the string which marked the depth of the curved wall plate. The curved roof plate consists of three or more arches joined, set up, and tied in the same way as the curved wall plate. It is slung half way between the curved wall plate and the main ridgepole. The position of the curved roof plate is determined by measuring the distance between the curved wall plate and the main ridgepole with a string, halving it, and tying a knot in the middle. The ends of the curved roof plate taper almost to a point and are lashed to the ends of the straight wall plates, above their junction with the curved wall plate. Then the rafters of the rounded end section are set up parallel to each other joining the rafters of the roof of the middle section. They are tied first at the top, then to the curved roof plate, and finally to the curved wall plate. Next the curved purlins and suspended purlin are set up inside the rafters (parallel to the curved roof plate and to each other) and tied to the rafters, the curved roof plate, and the curved wall plate. When both ends have been completed, the wall posts (*nduru*) for the middle section of the house are sunk under the straight wall plates.

Foundation mound. The foundation mound (*yavu*) is built by the men 342
of the village or by the owner. The foundation is oval like the ground plan 332
of the house and extends from 1 to 2 meters beyond the house. Earth for the mound is carried in baskets from an old mound or from a new pit. A
wall composed of slabs of beach limestone (*vatu rarapa*) on the limestone 342
islands and of basaltic stones on the volcanic islands is built to face the 333

342 333 [482] mound. A slab of beach limestone is cut into a rectangular piece with a metal adz. (Occasionally one edge of each slab is cut away, leaving a raised rectangle (*i uku uku*) to ornament the top of each upright.) Then one side of the slab is forced up by using a stick as a wedge. The whole slab is raised to an upright position and lashed to a pole which is carried across the shoulders of two men to prevent breakage while wet and brittle. At the house site, the slab is dried in the sun before being set in position. Flat slabs are usually stacked, one on top of another, but they are occasionally placed upright in a row and crowned by a row of flat slabs extending to and around the edge of the mound, an arrangement considered especially attractive by the natives. The stone facing is filled in with earth.

342 The favored ascent to the foundation mound is by means of a stone-faced runway of earth gradually rising from the ground. A house usually has three runways, one leading to the main entrance and one to each side entrance. Some houses, especially on Mothe, have steps of stone or wood leading to the entrances.

Roof thatch. After the foundation mound of the house has been completed, the roof and then the walls are thatched. Usually pandanus leaves are used to thatch the roof of a dwelling house. The natives say that pandanus leaves are more durable than coconut, but they demand more labor. Coconut leaves are used to thatch the roofs of kitchen huts because fire dries out the thatch. They are also used for wall thatch.

Roof thatch of pandanus is prepared as follows:

> The men of the village, working in clan or subclan groups, cut the pandanus leaves and bundle them. The leaves are soaked in the lagoon under weights of stone or wood for about two hours, a process called *toni*. The leaves are then placed on the ground in bundles and covered with coconut leaves so that they may not dry too quickly and become brittle, a process called *ovani* or *umbiumbi*. They are left for a day or two. Next the worker sits down in front of a round stick placed upright in the ground. Holding one end of a leaf in each hand, he loops it over the stick and, pulling one end and then the other toward him, softens the leaf by rubbing it against the stick, a process called *solo*. When the leaf is pliable he lets it drop. When several leaves have been softened they are tied in a bundle and set aside.

[824] A length of thatch (*mbatchi ni rau*) is made by doubling a number of leaves longitudinally over a light rod (*i yavo*), consisting of either a *walaki* (*Flagellaria gigantea*) reed or piece split from a pandanus root. Rods made of pandanus root may be used a second time, whereas *walaki* rods must be renewed each time the house is thatched. The leaves are pinned together in place with long *vatchivatchi* stems (from which the leaves have been removed). The stems are inserted through holes made with a thin pointed stick of *mbau* wood or, recently, with an imported saddle maker's needle. The size and number of lengths of thatch are calculated beforehand by measuring the roof

and counting the laths. The lengths of thatch for the main section of roof, 342. exclusive of rounded ends, must be of uniform length so that three or four correspond to the length of the main part of the roof. Thatch for the rounded ends are of various lengths.

A piece of sennit is tied between the rafters from the suspended purlin (*i ndere*) to the upper ridgepole (*ndoka lailai*) to form the thatch cord (*wale*). A row of old, plaited coconut mats (*tambakau*), called *there,* is tied securely to the upper side of the suspended purlin.

The thatching begins at the lower edge of the roof of the middle section of the house and works upward by panels, each panel being equal to one length of thatch. The middle panel (*nggolutu*) is completed first. Then the panels (*i karua ni nggolutu*) on either side of the middle panel are completed; next, in a large house, panels (*i ravitchi ni kapakapa*) on either side of these (*i karua ni nggolutu*); and finally the end panels (*kapakapa*). The lengths of thatch, *mbatchi ni rau,* are fastened to the roof as follows:

> A piece of sennit (*i thurithuri*) is tied to the thatch cord (*wale*) between the suspended purlin and the row of mats (*there*). The thatch (rod side up) is then placed outside and above the thatch cord (*wale*) and tied to it by means of the piece of sennit (*i thurithuri*). This is done by perforating the length of thatch below the rod from underneath by means of a hooked thatching needle (*i yatoyato*), pulling the sennit [294] through the perforation with the thatching needle, and fastening it with a half hitch. This process is continued up to the ridgepole, the length of thatch being from 4 to 5 cm. apart. Each panel overlaps the one completed before it by from 15 to 25 cm.

When the roof of the main section of the house has been completed, the roof of the rounded end is thatched. The panel method is not used on the rounded end sections. Thatching begins at the junction of the straight and the arched suspended purlins and proceeds along the arched purlin until the first row is complete. The rows are worked upward, to-and-fro, corresponding to the rows of thatch on the roof of the main section.

The last row of thatch (called *i vaka sevu*) on both sides of the roof meet above the upper ridgepole. Over the thatch junction are placed about four thicknesses of plaited coconut-leaf mats (*mbola*), and finally plaited coconut leaves (*i tevitchi*). They are pinned down with sharpened sticks (of *i sanggai*) inserted between the main and the upper ridgepole.

Thatchers work in pairs. One man stands inside the house on boards temporarily tied to the house posts and does the tying, while his partner stands outside and hands up the lengths of thatch by means of a forked stick (*i thimbathimba*). When the man inside calls, "nggolo tu", or "kama nggolo tu", the man outside must *thimba* (pass up a length of thatch).

When many men are working a competition is often held. Each pair works [524] on one panel and the fastest pair wins. The slowest pair is ashamed when the others call, "He rau vuka", meaning that the two are inefficient and lazy.

The roof is repaired by reinforcing weak spots with fresh lengths of thatch. [356]

342 **Wall thatch.** For thatching the walls of dwelling houses *ngasau* (*Miscanthus japonicus*) reeds are preferred because of their durability, but on the limestone islands where *ngasau* reeds do not grow, wall thatch is made of coconut leaves. Coconut leaves for thatch and sticks of wood (*mbola vatu* or *langakali*) for thatch supports (*latu*) are gathered by the men of the village. The coconut leaves are placed in piles and left for three or four days to soften. On an appointed day the men of the village meet to erect the wall thatch. The old men plait the coconut leaves and the younger men remove the bark from the *latu* sticks and place them around the wall at regular intervals, about 60 cm. apart and 30 cm. in the ground. Their height is determined by the height of the wall plates.

The thatching starts on the right side of the front entrance, at one end of the house, just below the roof. It is done in pairs, one man standing inside the house does the tying, the other outside handles the thatch.

First, two thicknesses of thatch, placed with thick lower ends toward the doorway, are tied with a piece of sennit to a thatch support (*latu*) just below the roof. The same piece of sennit is carried downward along the thatch support (*latu*) and used to tie the thatch, which are placed one below and outside the other, about 8 cm. apart. To tie the thatch the man inside pokes a pointed wooden needle (*sau*), threaded with a piece of sennit, through the thatch just below the midrib and just on the other side of the thatch support. The man inside loops the sennit over the needle point and pulls through, making fast a half hitch. The process is repeated until the last thatch is fastened about 3 cm. above the ground. The leaves of the lowest thatch lie on the ground outside.

The thatching proceeds away from the main doorway. A second panel is placed and tied like the first. When the side door is reached one thatch (called *onaliku*) is placed vertically and tied in with the horizontal rows of thatch (which are thin at the upper ends) so that the left side of the doorway may be the same strength as the right side, which is formed by the thick lower ends of the coconut leaves.

The house usually has four entrances (p. 65).

[554
531] Occasionally a few cowry shells are tied with sennit to the wall outside a large house. These shells formerly were a symbol of rank used only on a chief's house or other property, but now they are used merely for decoration. On some houses an extension (called *loru*) of the upper ridgepole projects about a meter beyond the roof on both ends of the house. The natives say it is purely decorative. It frequently is a separate piece of carved wood and it usually curves upward into a thickened end. On a house in Muanaira, Fulanga, it consists of an old pineapple club.

Final Ceremony. When the mats have been laid, the *kanusivi vale* (spitting upon the house) ceremony is held. If the owner has plenty of food, this feast is attended by the whole village, otherwise by only a few close relatives. The guests sit in a kava circle in the house, and kava is served. After drinking, each man spits and tosses the dregs from the cup onto the floor at the side of the house, or against the wall. A feast is served after the kava ceremony.

Hocart's statement (15, p. 126) that there is no spitting at the *kanusivi vale* 342
ceremony does not hold for southern Lau.

The spitting ceremony marks the strict division of the interior of the house into three sections (p. 64), but, inasmuch as the house has been built by the communal labor of the whole village, the villagers have the privilege of entering the main doorway and sitting down in the lower part of the house at any time.

House Protection. Long poles and fish spears are usually kept leaning
against the roof to hold down the thatch. On houses exposed to strong wind,
coconut leaves are tied together in pairs by the upper ends and hung as roof
weights, astride the ridgepole, to prevent the wind from lifting the thatch or
carrying away the roof. The natives say that during hurricanes they crowd [731]
together in small low houses and hold down the roof with their hands.

Occasionally dwelling houses are protected from evil spirits by magic 342
prophylactics. They are usually directed against particular spirits. For ex-
ample, the owner of the house in which I lived in Tokalau had planted a clump 751
of giant taro (*via*) beside the steps leading to the main entrance to protect the inhabitants from Tutumatua (23, p. 127), an evil spirit, who had caused the owner's wife to become ill. If Tutumatua, who had elephantiasis of the leg, attempted to visit the house again, he would see the giant taro plant with its swollen, knobbed roots, and, ashamed of the resemblance of the roots to his leg, would leave immediately. A branch of *uthi* leaves is occasionally hung inside a house to protect it from evil spirits.

House furnishings

Shutters (*i songo*) are attached to the doorways of a house and used as a 342
protection against wind and rain. There are two main types of shutters:
i songo mbekambeka, made of *mbekambeka* mats (p. 203) hung on hinges of
pandanus to one side of the doorway; and *i songo tambakau*, made of *tam-
bakau* mats (p. 203) sewn together with pandanus, hung above the door, rolled,
and tied with sennit. Wooden doors (*i songo papa*) hung on metal hinges to
a wooden door frame are seen occasionally in modern houses. Formerly a 354
hearth (*matandravu*), used for cooking and lighting, was set off by blocks of
wood in the lower part of the house to the left of the main entrance. Hearths are still found in a few small dwelling houses on Fulanga. The smoke rises through the thatch or the doorways and protects the house from mosquitoes. When mosquitoes are particularly prevalent, green leaves are burned in fires built on the foundation mound outside the doorway to windward.

For light, wood from the *sevua* (*Vavaca vitiensis*) tree is burned in the [824]
fireplace. Besides firelight, oil lamps (*thina*) are used. The lamp consists of
a scraped half coconut shell, in which a wick made of the midrib of a single 373
coconut leaflet (*sasa*) wrapped in barkcloth is placed upright either by stick-

373 ing it with *mbu* juice to the bottom of the coconut shell, or by inserting it into a coconut leaflet knotted in the form of a cross (called *lakamba*) at the bottom of the coconut shell. A small amount of boiled coconut oil, called *molia*, is poured into the shell and the wick is lighted. Sometimes the wick is inserted into the flesh of a half coconut or papaya and used in the same way. Boiled coconut oil used for lighting is made by grating ripe coconuts, straining the gratings after they have stood four nights, and boiling the oil. The natives say that oil lamps were not known before the Tongans came to Lau. According to Moto of Undu, little light was used at night in the olden days because the natives feared enemy raids.

Torches are made by splitting the upper ends of five or six coconut spathes (*mbarawa*) tied into a bundle or held together by hand. The split ends are lighted. Six or seven *ngasau* reeds bound together are sometimes used as a torch.

352 The floor space of the house, with the exception of the space under the couch (*vata*) and the hearth, is covered with coconut-leaf mats (*tambakau*), laid over coconut leaves or beach sand (*langere*) according to a definite pattern. The floor under the couch is covered with pebbles. In a house with four supporting posts the mats are arranged as follows: one central row of mats, placed end to end, extends down the middle of the floor from the main entrance to the *longgi*. On each side of the central row is another row of mats, placed side by side. One row of mats placed end to end, extends around the interior of the house (excluding the *longgi*) behind the supporting posts next to the wall.

Floor mats of pandanus are placed over the coconut-leaf mats. Properly, according to the natives, one large mat, called *i thoni* (*tevutevu* in the Mbauan dialect), should cover the central section and extend into the lower part of the house and one small mat, called *kotokoto*, should lie across the upper end of the house. The *i kotokoto* mat is used by the owner and people of high rank. This arrangement is, however, seldom seen today. Three floor mats usually cover the floor: a coarse mat at the lower end, a finer mat in the middle, and a fine mat at the upper end of the house. Every house contains a few large smooth stones or blocks of wood used as weights to hold the mats down when the wind blows.

A large, high couch, called *vata*, composed of a wooden frame covered with mats, occupies the uppermost end of many houses. The couch is from 70 cm. to 1.5 meters high. Its length is determined by the width of the house between the main supporting posts, and its width is about 1 meter less than the depth of the upper part of the house (*longgi*). In a few houses owned by
[554] ranking men, the couch is screened from the rest of the house by a large piece of the highly valued Fijian tapa, hung from the tie beam with sennit. The natives say that formerly there was no couch and that the floor of the upper

part of the house was covered with mats and separated from the rest of the house by a log or by a curtain of Fijian tapa. The couch is rarely used to sleep on. The owner and his wife usually sleep on a pile of sleeping mats (*yambe ni mothe*) just in front of the couch. Other members of the household often sleep on the floor mats in two parallel rows down the central section, their heads toward the center of the house, their feet toward the side walls. Tongan tapa is used as bed covering when needed. Mosquito curtains of tapa are not used in southern Lau. 352 513 352

Wooden headrests (*kali*) are used in Lau, especially by the older men. Intimately associated with the head, which is the center of mana, the headrest is tabu private property. It may not be touched by persons of lower rank than the owner. Headrests are kept in the upper part of the house. [778]

Clan property is stored in the house of the clan headman. Mats and barkcloth, representing the main wealth of the clan, are wrapped in old mats and tied into bundles (*solesole*) with native rope or sennit. A long, wooden rod is placed over the lower tie beams and the bundles are stored across this rod and the median plate. As many as four bundles in one house are rarely seen and many houses have no bundles at all. Natives say that formerly more wealth was accumulated than today. Rolls of sennit are placed behind the couch or hung in the lower part of the house. If the clan owns a kava bowl it is hung by the sennit hanger with the strainer, in the lower part of the house. Unused kava and food bowls are stored under the couch. They are concealed by the mat covering which hangs down to the floor in front. As far as I could determine there are few whales' teeth in southern Lau. If a clan possesses one of these valuable objects it is hidden away and not hung on the supporting posts in the upper part of the house as in Tumbou, Lakemba. The floor is swept with a broom (*i tavitaviraki*) of midribs of coconut leaflets, made by women. The midrib of a coconut leaflet is cut with a knife from the base to the end of the leaflet. After a pile has been collected each midrib is carefully trimmed. A hand broom is made by binding the midribs with sennit to a short broomstick, row upon row. A roof broom for cleaning the rafters is made by attaching the midribs to a long broomstick. 352 618 [436] 356

Vale lolova kathukathu

In small sleeping houses of the type called *vale lolova kathukathu* (pl. 4, *C*), the curved wall plate (*i lolo*) is not made of joined sections as in the Tongan house type, but is made of a rod or several rods bent into place. Informants say that most of the dwelling houses in the old village of Tokalau were of this type. The house is smaller and not so strong as the *vale vaka Tonga*, but it has an oval ground plan. It differs from the *vala vaka Tonga* mainly as follows: First, the two end king posts are embedded in the ground instead of resting on the median plate and the tie beams (which are not so strong 342

342 as in the *vale vaka Tonga*). Second, a bundle of three or four pliable rods of *ndongo* or *masamasa* is used in place of the curved wall plate; and the curved roof plate and occasionally the curved purlins are absent. Third, the roof of the rounded end is supported by curved parallel purlins and parallel rafters composed of rough laths like those used in kitchen huts today. Fourth, the thatch is of plaited coconut leaves, not of pandanus; and fifth the house is not raised on a mound. There are three doorways, one at the lower end and one on each side of the house.

High rectangular houses

Old informants say that formerly very high, rectangular houses, called *vale vaka ndawandawa,* were found in Lau. The four supporting posts of such a house, belonging to the chief of Fulanga, are still standing on a mound in Muanaithake village. They are about 8 meters high.

Low rectangular houses

Native agree that the houses of olden times were usually small houses with rectangular ground plan, built on a low foundation mound surrounded by a ring of stones. The mound was not much larger than the ground plan of the house.

MEN'S HOUSES

A house, inhabited temporarily or permanently by men only, is called *mbure* or *mbure ni sa.* Usually each clan has a men's house. Any convenient dwelling house is used, but some villages build permanent men's houses. They do not differ in construction from ordinary dwelling houses.

KITCHEN HUTS

343 The kitchen hut (*vale ni kuro*) is small (about 2 by 3 meters) and not so well built as the dwelling house. It is built like the *vale lolova kathukathu* or like a *vale vaka Tonga* and thatched with coconut leaves. Frequently it consists of a thatched gable roof without walls. The hearth occupies one end of the kitchen. Pots, wooden food bowls, strainers, and graters, as well as tapa board and beaters, are kept in the kitchen.

OVEN SHELTERS

The earth oven shelter (*riri* or *vale ni lovo*) is, as a rule, a thatched, gabled roof without walls. The ridgepole and the two wall plates are supported by forked stakes. Any suitable wood is used. Rough laths of *sitchi* tied with vines, such as *yaumitha* or *tuva,* join the ridgepole and the wall plates. The simple framework is thatched with plaited coconut leaves, tied with vines to the rafters. Some earth oven shelters are simple thatched lean-tos.

GARDEN HOUSES

Garden produce and tools are stored in a small garden shack called *lololo*. The two parallel wall plates are supported by forked stakes about 1 meter high. Rough, pliable laths of *vetau, mboimboinda, sitchi,* or *uko* are planted in the ground at regular intervals just outside the wall plates. Each one is bent over the wall plates toward the middle of the shack and crossed with a corresponding lath from the other side. Two rough ridgepoles are inserted at the crossing of the laths, one above and resting upon the fork, the other below it. The two crossed laths and the two ridgepoles are tied together at the junction with a vine such as *yaumitha* or *tuva*. The laths are also tied to the wall plates. This framework is thatched from the ridgepole to the ground with plaited coconut leaves tied to the laths with vines. 343 284

TEMPORARY SHELTERS

Shelters, called *teisusu* or *yalavolau*, are used for temporary sleeping quarters. They are found at camping grounds far from a village or on uninhabited islands where garden land is cultivated, and where travelers stop over night, or fishermen go for good fishing grounds. The shelters are erected quickly. Two parallel rows of pliable rods of *vetau, mboimboinda, sitchi,* or *uko* are staked at regular intervals in the ground. The rows are about 4 meters apart and 8 meters long. The stakes in one row are bent toward the stakes in the other row, crossed and tied together in pairs, under one and over the other ridgepole as in the garden house. The framework is reinforced by a rod tied to each stake between the ridgepole and the ground. It is covered with thatch made of plaited coconut leaves. 343

CANOE SHELTERS

Sometimes a shelter of coconut leaves is built over canoes in the process of construction. Unplaited leaves are thrown across two rods held up by four forked stakes. [504]

CHICKEN COOPS

Chicken coops are found in Lau especially on Fulanga. They are built with rectangular ground plan and average about 2 meters long, 1 meter wide, and 1.20 meters high. In one type of chicken coop the walls are made of *walaki* reeds staked upright in the ground and supported from the inside by horizontal rods tied with sennit. Roosting perches and the roof of pandanus thatch rest on these horizontal rods. The roof is supported by pliable sticks curved over the walls and with one end inserted into the ground on each side of the house. In another type of chicken coop the walls are composed of vertical stakes reinforced from the inside by horizontals. They are thatched 343 235

343 235 with coconut leaves. Hibiscus bark is used for lashing. The lean-to roof, also thatched with coconut leaves, is supported by diagonal sticks running from a rod, set on three forked stakes on one side of the house, to the ground on the other side.

Inverted, discarded dugouts are also used for chicken coops, especially for breeding nests.

SENNIT

283 Sennit (*mangimangi*) is made from coconut of the largest type called *niu mangimangi* (sennit coconut). The nut grows to 55 cm. long. No other types of nuts are used because their fiber is too short and too brittle. Nuts in the half ripe state (*mbu vinaka*) are husked on a husking stake into five equal longitudinal segments. The segments of two nuts are placed in one pile and thus can be counted easily. Stones are heated in an earth oven, spread out with a stick, and the husked segments of 100 to 200 nuts are placed on the stones. The husks are then covered with green leaves and earth. The husks may be left in the oven from three to 21 days. When needed, they are taken out of the oven through a small opening on one side, which is closed after the desired number of segments has been removed. Each segment is freed of its outer husk by hand and then is placed back upward on a block of wood (*rumbi ni mangimangi*) and beaten with a wooden mallet to remove bits of flesh, dirt, and short fibers. The clean, long fibers are allowed to dry in the sun for about three hours. The good fiber is reddish in color. When the dry fiber is pulled apart by hand, it is ready to be braided as follows:

> The braider seats himself cross-legged with a pile of fiber at his side. He takes a little fiber, places it on his upper leg, and with the palm of his hand rolls it into a strand (*ndua i nggilinggili*). The amount of fiber in the strand determines the thickness of the sennit braid. When he has a sufficient number of strands he begins to braid.

The braid is rolled into coils up to 1,000 fathoms long and is stored or exported.

Frequently, instead of steaming the husks in the earth oven, the segments are boiled (in salt or fresh water) in old kerosene tins for several hours. Then they are beaten and dried. They turn a reddish white color, and are strong and tough. This method was used frequently when the copra industry was at its highest in Lau and kerosene tins were readily available.

283 386 [824] White sennit, made by soaking the husk segments in salt water for about two months, is neither stronger nor more brittle than baked sennit. Black sennit—which is recent in Lau, according to the natives—is produced by boiling a coil of baked sennit with leaves of *sinu (Excoecaria agallocha* or *Phaleria disperma), kalatchimbuthi (Acalypha insularis), tatavola,* and *mbele.* The natives say that if any one of these leaves is omitted the dye is not fast.

283 386 The coil is boiled in the dye mixture for about 10 hours and then soaked in a container for about 12 hours. It is then left for about 24 hours in a container with soft black mud, washed in fresh water, and hung out in bundles to dry. When boiled the black dye fades slightly. Yellow sennit is made by boiling a coil with scraped *kura* roots for two hours.

CANOES

501 I witnessed the process of construction, of sailing, and of paddling canoes on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Ongea. Information concerning navigation was obtained on six interisland canoe trips in good and bad weather over a distance of 200 miles. Information concerning the double canoe was obtained from many old informants who had participated in their building and sailing. Much of it was furnished by Tatchini, the *lemaki* carpenter of Kambara. No complete double canoe is found in Lau today. But on Fulanga I examined parts of a small *sauthoko* constructed by Mathiu, the carpenter of Nasava, a chiefs' carpenter clan of Muanaithake, and on Levuka, Lakemba, a model *sauthoko* constructed by the same carpenter.

Two types of canoes, the single sailing canoe (*thamakathu*; pl. 5, *A, B*) and the paddling canoe (*wangga vothe*) are still made and in constant use in southern Lau. Both have single indirectly attached outriggers. The sailing canoe is a five-piece, completely decked canoe equipped with mast and lateen sail. The paddling canoe is either a simple dugout or a dugout with decked washstrakes. Only large sailing canoes are used outside the reef.

Informants say that formerly an outrigger canoe, called *ndavilai,* was also made. It resembled the *wangga vothe* but head and stern were of equal size and shape.

Two types of double canoes (*ndrua*), the *sauthoko* and the *tambetembete,* were formerly built in southern Lau. The *sauthoko* consisted of two built-up, decked canoes; the main canoe (*kata*), and the balancing canoe (*thama*), which served as outrigger. The *tambetembete* was a plank canoe with a keel said to have been introduced and built by the *lemaki* carpenters and the Tongan carpenters, who came to southern Lau for greenheart timber. Double canoes were used in interisland voyages in Fiji and between Fiji and Tonga.

[505] Informants say that a raft (*ulatoka*), composed of logs lashed together with sennit, was formerly built to carry heavy loads. The *ulatoka* is mentioned by Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 76), and a model of an *ulatoka* in the Fiji Museum has been described by Hornell (16, p. 332).

396 Canoe making is today, as in the past, the most important industry in southern Lau because hard greenheart timber, used for hulls of double and large single sailing canoes, grows abundantly only on the forested, limestone island of Kambara and to some extent on Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava.

396 Canoes from southern Lau were used by chiefs throughout the Fiji islands and in Tonga where there is no hardwood. Tongan chiefs sent their own carpenters and workmen to Kambara and Fulanga where they lived for two years or more building large double canoes to be used in Tonga.

According to informants, the last double canoe was made in Kambara about 30 years ago. However, large sailing canoes and paddling canoes are still made. Since the fall of the copra market large sailing canoes have provided interisland transportation.

SAILING CANOE

501 [651] [439] Large sailing canoes (*thamakathu*) are one of the most valuable objects of ceremonial exchange made in southern Lau. They are paid as tribute to high chiefs at Lakemba, who in turn frequently present them in ceremonial exchanges to chiefs of Viti Levu.

Canoe census

Thirty-two large, seaworthy, sailing canoes on the islands visited were distributed as follows: Fulanga 11, Kambara 8, Ongea 7, Mothe 6, Namuka 0. On Kambara the distribution between villages was Tokalau 1, Lomatchi 2, Undu 2, Nggalinggali 3. Many partly hollowed hulls, abandoned during construction, were seen rotting in the bush; and old, broken hulls were seen in all villages.

Navigation

502 A well-built Lauan sailing canoe is a seaworthy and swift craft. In a stiff breeze she easily attains a speed of 10 knots an hour. She sails best with the wind just off the stern but cannot sail directly before the wind, because the outrigger must be kept to windward. In stormy weather the man who holds the sheet watches the outrigger and the sail constantly. If he does not slacken the sail at a gust, the float rises out of the water and the canoe is in danger of capsizing. If the outrigger swings to leeward, the float is forced under water and the canoe swamps. Care is taken to balance the load on a canoe by favoring the outrigger side. If the load is unbalanced the canoe capsizes; if it is too heavy, the canoe sinks. Loads are often thrown overboard. A capsized canoe is righted by the crew and bailed out, and the journey is resumed.

If the wind is very strong the sail is lowered while a reef is taken in the foot of it. In dangerous gales the sail is lowered, rolled, tied, and adjusted to the mast in order to catch the wind. A canoe with lowered sail so adjusted makes 4 knots an hour in a gale. Lauan sailors say that a mat sail is better than a canvas one for the mat allows the wind to pass through and therefore the mast is not easily strained or broken.

A large sailing canoe requires a crew (*kai mua*) of at least three men, including the skipper. The crew takes turns at the steering paddle and the sheet. 502

In order to keep the outrigger to windward, either end of the canoe is used as the head. In tacking the yard is lifted out of the tack socket on the head-board, carried astern the length of the canoe, and placed in the tack socket on the stern-board. At the same time the mast inclines slightly toward the stern. The sheet is passed around the outside of the sail, which turns inside out, and the canoe proceeds stern ahead on the new tack at right angles to its former course.

The Lauans are not fearless sailors. They do not venture forth if there is a suspicion of black clouds on the horizon. Frequently they sail in canoes that are out of repair—the sail ripped, the lashings loose, or the rigging weak. Rather than repair them, they wait for very fair wind and weather. They plan routes in short relays rarely more than 40 miles long between islands. They have a highly developed sense of sight through the dark and can see the outline of an island long after it has been lost to untrained eyes. They avoid sailing at night, however, and have to a great extent lost the art of navigation by the stars. They say that on dark, stormy nights the stars are of no help anyway. Only the best and most experienced sail by the stars. One of these is Rasolo of Nggalinggali, whose father was a Tongan and whose mother was a woman of the Naivotavota clan. Rasolo says each island has several stars. When one is left behind or sets, another is used. [821]

The route to Ono is considered the most difficult in Lau. Sailors say that the passage between Kambara and Wangava (called I Vuthuninggase, Anger of the Ancestors) is the roughest in Lau. A place on the route between Namuka and Wangava, where a canoe once struck a storm and its load of breadfruit was dumped, is called Mbuia Uto (Throw out the Breadfruit). Between Lakemba and Olorua is a place called Na Lenggandau (Turning Point).

Provisions for the trip usually consist of drinking nuts and enough cooked garden food for one scant meal, since the crew plan to reach their destination before nightfall. On the trip I made from Ongea to Kambara the crew took neither food nor drinking nuts.

If a canoe is becalmed the crew whistle and call for the wind. They shout when a breeze comes up. Formerly they sang songs. [198
789]

The Kambara people say that in sailing to Lakemba the small end (stern) of the canoe is used as the head, but in sailing to Kambara the large end (bow) is used because the greenheart originated at a place called Vunivesi (origin of the greenheart) where Ndaunisai landed on Kambara. This would, 502 however, be the orientation of a canoe if the outrigger were on the port side, the usual position in Lau.

For further details concerning *thamakathu*, called *thamakau* in Mbauan, see Hornell (16, pp. 307-319).

Construction

396 The construction of a large sailing canoe requires planned economy on the part of the builder and his clan and the cooperative labor of his whole village. It extends over a period of several months. The builder and his clan must raise enough food to provide daily feasts for the workers and gather enough property to make the final payment to the carpenter.

396 **Canoe body.** The builder selects a tree for the hull of greenheart, *mbau,*
or *makota (Dysoxylum richii)* wood. Canoes of greenheart are the strongest
313 and the most durable. The trunk must be straight, large, and sound, and it
[824] must not be too far from the beach and the village. A sailor is always looking for good canoe timber and often stops on a trip through the jungle to examine a tree. Standing at the base and facing the tree, he sights up to the crown to determine the curve of the trunk and its suitability for a hull.

[412] When the tree has been marked by cutting off a piece of bark with a knife, the builder procures the services of a carpenter, usually from his own village. If he is an influential man, he makes an initial payment of property (*mbutombuto ni wangga*) to the carpenter before the work begins. Formerly a builder from another Lau island or from Tonga made an initial payment of at least two whales' teeth.

396 When sufficient food for the first series of feasts has been collected, a
313 day is set for felling the tree. Early in the morning the men of the village
483 go to fell the tree. Under supervision of the carpenter the tree is felled close to the ground by means of metal-bladed adzes. Before the crown is cut out
[412] wooden rollers are shoved under the trunk. A feast prepared in a temporary earth oven in the jungle is provided by the builder and his clan at about midday. The men meet again on an appointed day to continue the work. With great effort the trunk is rolled over into the position the finished canoe is to take. Two strong saplings, about 3 meters long, are staked near the middle and athwart the trunk on the side from which it is to be rolled. The stakes are lashed to the log with *wangiri* and split *viavia* vines. Wedges of wood are then forced between the log and the stakes to make the vines taut.
[824] Two *kandrangi (Smilax vitiensis)* vines are tied near the base end of the trunk and one near the head. All the men except the builder take hold of these vines and prepare to pull. The builder, grasping the roller under the base of the trunk, cries rhythmically, "Folo, folo, folo, folo! I tuo!" At the last two words the men pull, the builder raises the roller, and the trunk rolls over.

The ends of the trunk are carefully examined, and if either shows any sign of decay it is gashed for removal. 396 313 483

Sailing canoes to be used outside the reef usually measure from 8 to 12 meters long. Following a vine marker held taut at the base and head ends of the trunk, a man cuts two longitudinal lines in the bark with an adz to mark the opening of the hull. A series of short parallel lines a foot apart are cut at right angles to and joining the two longitudinal lines. The bark of the series of small triangles thus formed is removed and the trunk is leveled between the two edges of the hull. Leafy saplings are thrust into the ground near the log to shade the workers from the sun. A steamed feast is served at noon. 396

The hull is roughly shaped and hollowed in the forest. The upper part of the trunk forms the stern, which is truncated with shield-shaped butt. The base forms the head or bow, which is deep and pointed. When it has been lightened sufficiently it is hauled on rollers to the beach, a very difficult process which I witnessed on Kambara. A pathway through the bush is cleared by burning the brush. Rollers of *sielavu* or other wood are spaced about 6 meters apart along the path for a distance of about 20 meters. One end of a heavy vine (*kandrangi*), about 7 meters long, is knotted to the center of a beam of *mauamaua (Homalanthus nutans)* or other wood which is inserted lengthwise into the stern end of the hull. Sticks of *tapo* are fitted and beaten in athwart the hull above the beam to hold it in place. The stern is wrapped with beaten *walaki (Flagellaria gigantea)* vines. Grasping the *kandrangi* vine, the men haul the hull over the rollers. They place it on the last two and rest while the other rollers are carried forward along the path and the hauling is resumed. When they reach the beach the hull is floated to the village, where it is finished. The hull is placed on two rollers and a temporary shelter (*yalavolau*) (p. 173) is built over it. 396 483 [401] [824]

When the hull is finished, the washstrakes (*sai*) are added. They are lashed to the hull with sennit drawn through a series of holes (*nggara ni vakovako*), drilled along the upper edge of the hull and the lower edges of the washstrakes. The process is called *mbau vau*. A long narrow strip (*kapikapi*) of greenheart, *mbau*, or *vaivai* is inserted between the hull and the washstrake. Under the *kapikapi* is pushed a calking of tapa, coconut fiber, canvas, or cloth. The *kapikapi* is held in place while the lashing proceeds. Starting inside the hull, a piece of sennit is threaded two or three times, out through one hole in the hull and in again through the corresponding hole in the washstrake. It is then looped through the lashing and the process is repeated two or three times depending on the size of the canoe and on the sennit. The original end of the sennit is held fast by the lashing against the hull wall. The sennit is pulled tight and carried to the next pair of holes, 396 284

396 which are lashed in the same way. Before proceeding to the third pair of
holes the sennit is looped backward and knotted through the sennit carried
284 from the first hole. The holes are calked with coconut fiber plugged in with
[401] a wooden wedge and hammer.

Head- and stern-boards (*mua levu* and *mua lailai*) are hewn from solid
396 *mbau vuntchi*. They are fitted over the entire fore-and-aft parts of the hull
and are lashed to it in the same way as the washstrakes. The head-board of
large canoes is decorated with simple ornamental carving (fig. 6, *a, b*).

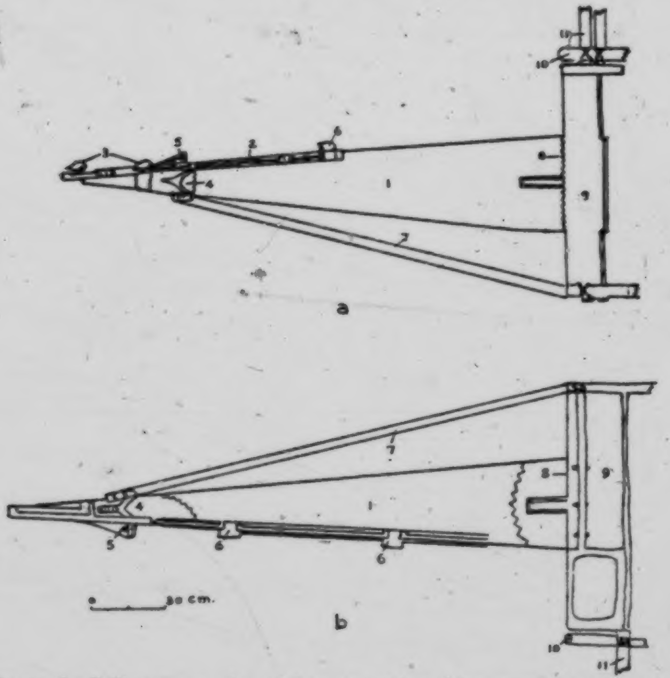


FIGURE 6.—Sailing canoe, plan of bow. a, with outrigger attached to starboard; b, with outrigger attached to port: 1, head-board; 2, ornamental carving; 3, cowry shells; 4, yard socket; 5, stay hole; 6, guard projections covering horizontal leads; 7, diagonal strut connecting head of hull with lee corner of deck platform; 8, breakwater; 9, deck; 10, stringer; 11, outrigger boom.

Outrigger attachment. The weight, size, and attachment of the float (*thama*) is of utmost importance, for the chief problem in rough weather sailing is to maintain the balance and prevent the float from sinking. The outrigger is attached to the port side of the canoe except in canoes built by the *lemaki* carpenters, who attach it to the starboard side. The float consists of a rounded log of light wood with flattened upper surface and pointed ends. It is little more than half the length of the canoe and is attached indirectly to it by means of over-crossed stick connectives (*vatoto*). On Kambara breadfruit wood is preferred for the float, on Ongea *ngandoa* is used.

The booms (*i kaso*) of breadfruit wood, run athwart the canoe from the edge of the deck opposite the outrigger toward the float. They rest in squared sockets cut out of the upper edge of the washstrakes and are tied with sennit to the washstrakes through two holes drilled in the washstrakes below each socket. The holes are usually drilled on the same horizontal plane, along one line of the grain. On a few canoes they are on different planes and therefore stronger, for the wood of the washstrake is less likely to split. The three primary booms, longer and thicker than the secondary booms, are placed at each end and in the middle of the washstrakes. They extend a few centimeters beyond the float and are indirectly connected with it. The secondary booms, placed between the primary booms, extend to the outermost stringer and are not connected with the float. The number of secondary booms varies according to the size and strength of the canoe (fig. 7).

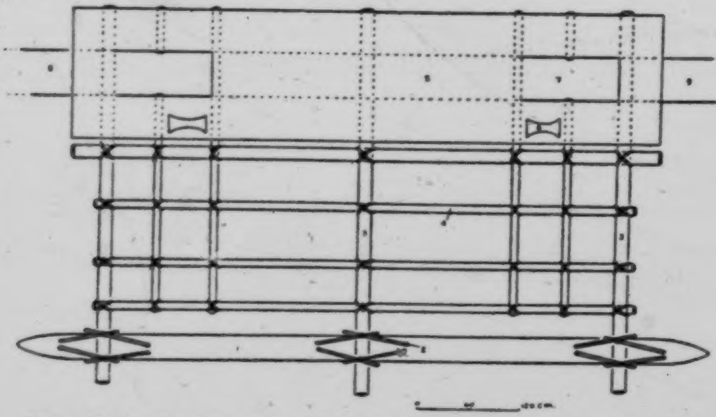


FIGURE 7.—Sailing canoe, outrigger plan: 1, float; 2, stick connective; 3, outrigger boom; 4, stringer; 5, deck; 6, hole for scull; 7, hatch; 8, head-board; 9, stern-board.

The float is attached to the three primary booms by means of six pairs of overcrossed stick connectives, two pairs to each boom. The pointed lower ends of the connectives are hammered into the float. The upper ends are crossed over the booms and lashed together in pairs. To reinforce the attachment on large, well-built canoes secondary stick connectives (*lengge*) run from the float below each primary boom to the outermost stringer.

396 [284] Stringers (*kaiakisa*) are placed above the booms and securely lashed to them with sennit at every intersection. This lashing must be renewed often. The innermost stringer is thicker and stronger than the rest.

Deck. Breakwaters are inserted between the ends of opposite washstrakes. A deck of planks, built over the boom, covers the space between the washstrakes and extends beyond them on both sides. The rectangular hatch at each end is closed with planks in rough weather. Hourglass-shaped holes for the scull (*i sua*) are cut in the deck between the hatches and the outrigger. The scull is a long, slender oar, two thirds of which is manipulated below the deck. A well equipped sailing canoe has two sculls.

Two struts, one lashed to the fore corner of the deck platform opposite the outrigger, the other to the aft corner, extend to and are lashed to the tip of the head and stern boards respectively. On large, well-built canoes a low wooden rail (*koli*) is built along the edge of the deck opposite the outrigger side.

Mast, rigging, and sail. The mast (*i vana*) is a straight pole of *ndamanu* wood which tapers toward the head. Its length equals at least half the length of the canoe. It is topped with a masthead of greenheart. Either of two types of mastheads are used. One has a mast-prong, shaped like a crab's claw, [177] through which the halyards (*vakavakarewa*) are rove. The other has a truck (fig. 8) which the natives say is recent. Trucks, however, are shown by Williams (27, vol. 1, fig. opp. p. 88). The truck aperture is called *nggara ni vakavakarewa*. The mastheel is either stepped in a circular hollow cut in the deck amidships or it is pivoted in a solid socket (*vunga*) fitted to the deck at the same place.

[439 283] The rigging is usually imported rope, which is considered stronger than the native twist. The standing rigging consists of two shrouds, one forestay, and one backstay. The upper shroud (*i lomba levu*) and the lower shroud (*i lomba lailai*) run from the masthead to the central boom above the float. The forestay (*i tuku ni mua levu*) and the backstay (*i tuku ni mua lailai*) run from the masthead to the stay holes (*nggara ni tuku*) on the edge of the head and stern boards.

A curved mast-shore (*vangga loa*) extends from the lower part of the mast to the outer part of the central boom.

[285] The sail (*i latha*) is of the Oceanic lateen type. It is made of strips of pandanus matting sewn together with a sail needle (*saulatha*) threaded with sennit. Informants on Kambara say that besides pandanus, *kuta (Elaeocharis articulata)* was formerly used for making sails. *Kuta* does not grow on [439] Kambara. It was brought in long rolls about 65 cm. wide from Viti Levu and cut and sewn into sails on Kambara. The margins of the sail are turned down and sewn with a bolt rope composed of sennit. The head and foot

The head and foot ^ 396

are tied to two spars, the yard (*vu*, forefather) and the boom (*alewa*, woman). At the tack of the sail the yard is stepped in a socket (*tutu ni vu*) on either [831] the head or the stern board, and the forked end of the boom is fitted to the yard. The attachments *vu* and *alewa* are phallic symbols.

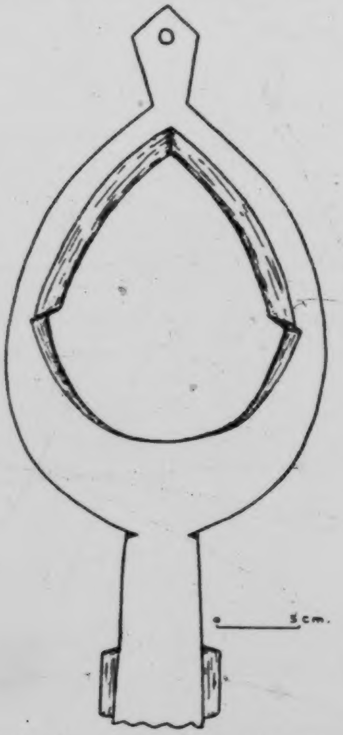


FIGURE 8.—Sailing canoe mast truck from Fulanga.

One or two halyards (*vakavakarewa*) are tied to the yard at a point about two thirds of the distance from tack to peak, and the sheet (*sila*) is attached to the boom at a corresponding point two thirds of the distance from tack to inside of timberlake.

To raise the sail the halyards are drawn over or through the mast-prong or the aperture in the masthead and made fast to a cleat at the foot of the mast. The sheet is twisted around an inner stringer and held by one of the crew. If the wind is fair and constant it may be tied to a stringer. Furling the sail is shown in plate 5, *A*.

^ [of the sail.-Analyst]

396 The canoe is steered with a heavy, long-bladed steering paddle (*uli*) made from greenheart inserted between the deck and the innermost stringer. It is attached to the canoe by means of a rope tied to two holes in the upper end of the blade. A large piece of coral tied with rope is used as an anchor. [415] The wooden bailer is the typical Oceanic scoop with handle within the cavity of the scoop.

[531 622] **Shell ornamentation.** Fine canoes belonging to members of the nobility are often ornamented with cowry shells lashed to the tip of the head-board, the masthead, or the outrigger. Formerly shells were used only on canoes belonging to chiefs.

504 **Repair.** Holes or cracks in the hull are repaired by inserting a wooden patch inside the hull and calking the seams with *yangai* pitch made soft with a glowing brand. Ongea men are said to be skilled in canoe repair work. Nearly every Ongea canoe shows a crack at one or both ends due to the inferior timber found on the island.

396 **Launching.** When a canoe has been completed a large feast (*solevu ni wangga*) is held by the builder and his clan for the carpenter. Whales' teeth, barkcloth, mats, or sennit are presented ceremonially to him. Kava is made and food is eaten by the owner on the deck of the new canoe. Eating and drinking on the canoe are forbidden until this ceremony lifts the tabu.

396 526 At the launching of the canoe a race (*rova*) is held. The owner provides barkcloth and occasionally mats and oil. These are suspended to poles held upright by young girls. The young men gather at some distance from the girls who sing rhythmically:

Toro, toro tchikau, toro voli yani tchikau.	Move, move from there to here.
Vaka vaka o! Rova pu!	Ready, go!

At the last two words the racers start running toward the girls. The winner gets all the property he can carry. The remainder goes to the carpenter. [552 765] On this occasion the canoe is named, often for a child of the owner. Canoes are known by their names. A canoe is occasionally a memorial to the dead (*lawa ni mate*—sail of the dead).

[504] The completed sailing canoe is not housed in a shed but is beached and covered with coconut leaves or sheltered under a leafy tree.

PADDLING CANOES

501 Paddling canoes, like small sailing canoes, are used inside the reef for fishing, turtle hunting, and intervillage transportation. On the island of Namuka where the art of sailing canoes has been lost, paddling canoes are still used for fishing in the lagoon. They are poled in shallow water. They are built of local wood on practically every island and are usually smaller,

lighter, and less finished than sailing canoes. They are built quickly without ceremony unless the owner wishes to have a small race (*rova*) at the launching. 501

There are two types of paddling canoes in Lau, the *velovelo* and the *wangga vothe*. The single dugout type called *velovelo* is not often seen. It is more suited to river than to lagoon use. One at Undu, Kambara, consisted of a dugout of *makota* about 6 meters long cut according to the usual canoe hull pattern. It had low washstrakes resembling stringers, 3 primary and 2 secondary booms crossed by 4 stringers, and a short float joined to the booms by 6 pairs of stick connectives, 2 pairs to each primary boom. This type of canoe is used on the rivers of Viti Levu and called *takia*, according to Hornell (16, pp. 304-306). [171]

The built-up dugout type of paddling canoe, called *wangga vothe*, is common in Lau. One in use on Fulanga consisted of a dugout of *makota* 5.75 meters long, washstrakes 15 cm. high, 3 booms, 3 stringers, and a float joined as in the *velovelo*. This type of canoe is called *wangga vakatau* on Viti Levu, according to Hornell (16, pp. 306-307). [171]

DOUBLE CANOES

Sauthoko

The construction of a large, double canoe of the type called *sauthoko* took at least two years and involved elaborate feasts and ceremonies. Only a chief could command the resources and labor necessary to build one. When a Lauan high chief wanted a double canoe built he sent instructions and property to his carpenter on Kambara or another one of the timber islands in southern Lau. The carpenter had charge of the construction of the canoe, and he selected the timber and picked his assistants. A large trunk of greenheart was used for the large canoe, *mbau* for the small one. On the day of felling the tree a great feast called *mangitchi ni vaka mbale* was held in the bush. The series of feasts were *mangitchi ni vanua* (feasts of the land) provided as tribute to the chief by the people of the island. In construction the *sauthoko* resembled a very large *thamákathu* with a small canoe of the same type used instead of a float. The hull was shaped, turned, and hollowed as a sailing canoe is today, except that more labor was involved. The work was done with stone adzes. To hollow the hull first a heavy adz (*vula ono*) was used, then a short handled, thick adz (*i kotchi*), then a lighter adz (*valevatu*). The finishing was done with an adz which could be turned on the haft. 501 396 [412]

While hauling the hull to the shore the men sang rhythmically: [539]

Unga e! Unga e!	Land crab e! Land crab e!
E nggasi ki sau[illegible]na ko unga	Land crab crawls like an old man
Unga e! Unga e!	Land crab e! Land crab e!

501 396 When the hull reached the shore a large feast was held. The hull of the small canoe was prepared in the same way. Next the head- and stern-boards were constructed. The two canoes were connected by booms called *i kaso*. If the double canoe was built by a *lemaki* carpenter the small canoe (*thama*) was attached on the right of the large canoe (*kata*). A wide deck was constructed over the booms and a small canoe house (*vale wangga*) was built on [354] deck. A fireplace (*mata ndravu*), at the end of the canoe house toward the stern, was shifted according to the tack. It consisted of a large hollow block of *puko* wood or a large kava bowl. Sand or clay was placed in the hollow, then earth oven stones. A wood fire was built on the stones and removed when they were hot. Food wrapped in green leaves (banana, breadfruit, or *evuevu*) was placed on the hot stones and covered with leaves.

While the canoe was under construction it was tabu for any person unaccompanied by the carpenter to look at it. If the tabu was broken the offender had to make atonement (*ore*).

A Fijian double canoe of the *sauthoko* type, belonging to Percy Turner of Suva, has been described by Hornell (16, pp. 319-324).

A great feast was held at the launching of a double canoe. The chief, standing on the float, directed the race. Then the carpenter presented property consisting of woodwork collected from his clan, together with the canoe itself, to the chief. This was called *musu wangga*. In return the chief gave craft articles, a piece of land, or a woman to the carpenter.

On the double canoe parts of the deck called the *nggela tambu*, the *thaku* [622] *thamba*, and the *vale wangga* (canoe house) were reserved for the chief. A chief's canoe carried a flag of *masi* attached to the yard.

Tambetembete

501 Double canoes exceeding the length of a single tree (at most about 13 meters) were made of planks built up on a keel. This type was called *tambetembete*. None is found in Fiji today, but a double canoe believed to be of the *tambetembete* type is described and illustrated by Williams (27, vol. 1, pp. 73-76, fig. p. 86).

An old informant, Semitchi of Mbutonikoro, Mothe, told me of a *tambe*- [731] *tembete* double canoe called Tangimautchia. It was built on Fulanga just before the measle epidemic in 1875 by Setareki, *matai* (carpenter) *Yalona*, from Tonga, for Tupou, a Tongan chief. Tupou remained in Tonga and sent his herald, Hala Hafihafi, to Fulanga. Hala Hafihafi and his wife and children remained on the island during the two years required to construct the canoe. The *tambetembete* was of greenheart with mat sail. Semitchi, who was about 16 years old at the time, was a member of the crew which sailed her to Tonga. Ten of the crew were Tongans. There were about 25 men and women aboard. The canoe carried a load of mats from Fulanga. They sailed northward to Mothe, where they awaited a good wind. The trip to Tonga took about three full days. Semitchi remained for two years in Tonga and then returned to Lau on the cutter *Nakau*. 501

WOODWORK

WOODEN BOWLS

The islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Ongea produce most of the wooden bowls (*kumete*). They are made only by carpenters. The bowls are cut from a solid section of greenheart with metal-bladed adzes and are polished with the point of a boar's tusk (*i kari ni kumete*). The tusk is highly valued private property inherited from father to son. 415 322 [428 413]

There are several types of wooden bowls, and each type is made in several sizes.

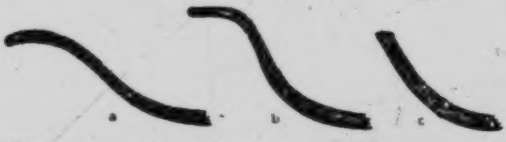


FIGURE 9.—Types of *tanoa* rim profiles: a, *tanoa ntchina*; b, *sese ni tanoa* (type 1); c, *sese ni tanoa* (type 2).

The *tanoa ntchina* (fig. 10, *a*) is a round, gracefully curved bowl with inverted, shallow, dome-shaped body set on four strong, tapering legs. The rim is circular with convex upper surface. It forms an unbroken curve outward from the side walls (fig. 9, *a*). Between two legs is a perforated, V-shaped lug (*ndalingana*) by which the bowl is suspended with sennit. A section of a trunk of greenheart is split vertically down the center, each half furnishing material for one bowl. The surface where the split occurred is leveled with an adz. The carpenter, using two sticks as a gauge, traces with a sharp point an inner and an outer circle on the smooth surface to mark the edge of the rim and the cavity of the bowl. He then marks the position of the legs just inside the curve of the rim. He carves out the bowl with small adzes and polishes it with a boar's tusk. The *tanoa ntchina* is used as a kava bowl. The natives agree that it is an old Fijian type.

The *sese ni tanoa* is a round bowl with four legs and a V-shaped lug. It has a deeper cavity than the *tanoa ntchina* and differs from it in the curve of the rim. There are two types of *sese ni tanoa*. The rim of type 1 (fig. 9, *b*) in this study, is definitely bent outward. It forms an angle of almost ninety degrees with the side walls. The upper surface of the rim is flat. The rim of type 2 (fig. 9, *c*) in this study, extends upward to a straight edge (fig. 10, *b*). The legs of the *sese ni tanoa* are slightly more cylindrical and more

45 clumsy than those of the *tanoa ntchina*. The *sese ni tanoa* is used as a kava bowl also.

322 The *tanoa ntchina* and the *sese ni tanoa* are occasionally made with six
[17] or eight legs. Multiple-legged bowls are said to have been introduced into Lau by the *lemaki* carpenters.

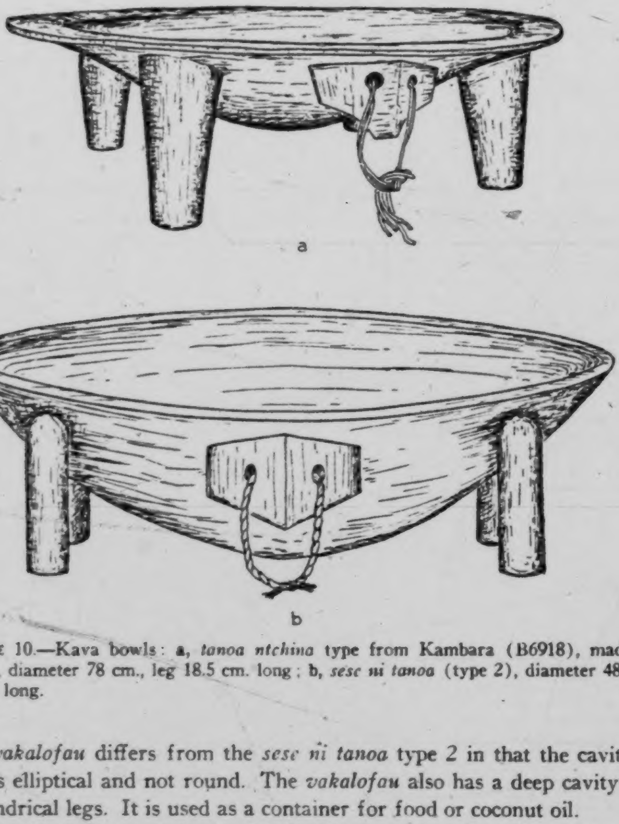


FIGURE 10.—Kava bowls: **a**, *tanoa ntchina* type from Kambara (B6918), made of greenheart, diameter 78 cm., leg 18.5 cm. long; **b**, *sese ni tanoa* (type 2), diameter 48 cm., leg 16 cm. long.

The *vakalofau* differs from the *sese ni tanoa* type 2 in that the cavity at the rim is elliptical and not round. The *vakalofau* also has a deep cavity and four cylindrical legs. It is used as a container for food or coconut oil.

The *sendre* is a round bowl with flat base and usually without legs. In some *sendre* the base forms a definite angle with the side walls. The rim either extends upward to a straight edge or curves slightly outward. The rim of a *sendre* seen on Ongea was incised with a simple geometric design (fig. 11). This type of bowl is made without a lug. A small *sendre (sendre lailai)*, 60 cm. or less in diameter at the rim, is used as a food bowl and occasionally

415
322

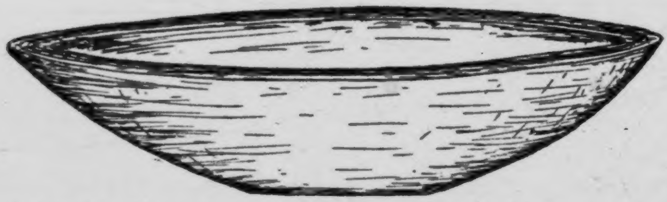


FIGURE 11.—Wooden bowl, *sendre lailai* type, with incised design on rim.

as a kava bowl. A large *sendre (sendre levu)*, used for storing coconut oil, has four knob legs at the base and two knob handles, which extend outward from opposite sides of the rim. Many *sendre* were seen on Ongea but none on Fulanga.

The *vonu* (turtle) is an elliptical bowl, shaped like a turtle, with four legs and a V-shaped lug which forms the turtle's head. It is used as a container for food or on informal occasions for kava. The *vonu* type of bowl is not popular and is said to have been recently introduced into Lau. [177]

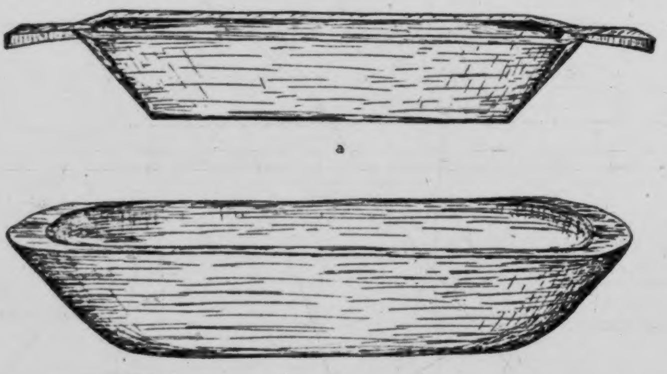


FIGURE 12.—Wooden oil bowl, *papasia* type: **a**, 150 cm. long, 52 cm. wide, walls 1.5 cm. thick; **b**, (B7938), 58 cm. long, 39 cm. wide, walls 1 cm. thick.

The *papasia* (fig. 12) is an elliptical bowl, rectangular or sectagonal at the rim. Large *papasia* often have two handles, one at each end, which jut either outward or inward. Bowls of this type were used for storing coconut oil paid in large quantities as taxes to the high chief at Lakemba under Tongan rule. They are now used as oil or food bowls.

The *i vakatoka* is a large, deep, flat-based tub (fig. 13). The cavity is four-sided with rounded corners and is almost square at the rim. Frequently

415 322 this type of bowl has four knob handles which project outward at the corners of the rim. It is used as a wash bowl, especially for babies.

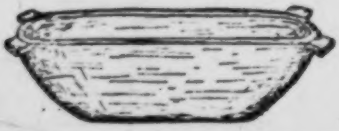


Figure 13.—Wooden tub, *i vakatoka* type, 96 cm. long, 73 cm. wide, 26 cm. deep, walls 1-2 cm. thick.

The *i sovasova* is a fish board of elliptical or rectangular form, used as a platter upon which to carve large fish. It is cut from a solid section of the root of the *mbau* or from *makota* or greenheart. Fish boards are usually fairly flat with a slight rim at least 1 cm. high.

HEADRESTS

352 322 Headrests (*kali*) of several types are made in Lau, especially in Muanaithake village on Fulanga. Generally only the highest ranking member of each household owns a headrest.

Informants say that the *kali thinggi* (fig. 14, *b*) is an old type of headrest. It is made of *mbau* or occasionally of greenheart, in three pieces—two legs

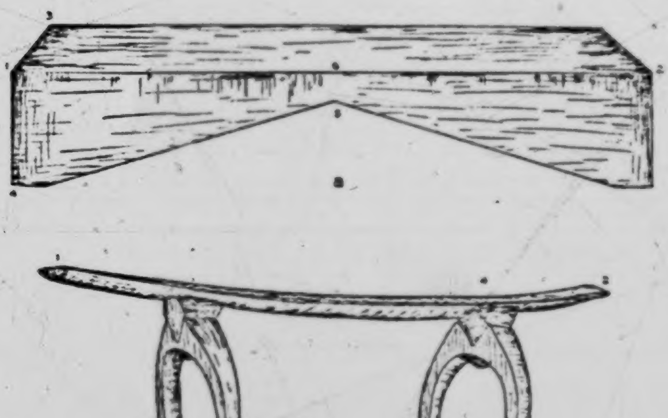


Figure 14.—Headrests: a: *tchiki* type, 1-2, 43 cm.; 1-3, 8 cm.; 1-4, 8 cm.; 5-6, 2 cm. b, *kali thinggi* type (B5234) made of greenheart, 1-2, 44 cm.; 3-4, 13 cm.

and a head piece—fitted together and tied with sennit. Usually this type of headrest is carefully made and highly polished. The natives say that formerly headrests of similar shape were made in one piece and called *sauthoko*. 352 322

The *hahapo* is a Tongan type of headrest (*fafapo* in Tonga) made of a single piece of *mbau* wood (fig. 15 *a, b*). It is distinguished by its fine long curves and delicate structure.

Roughly finished blocks of wood (*tchiki* or *tekiteki*) are frequently used as headrests (fig. 14, *a*).

A section of bamboo, about 35 cm. long, with two legs of greenheart attached by means of sennit, is called *kali nduvu*. This type of headrest is imported from Viti Levu, inasmuch as large bamboo does not grow in southern Lau.

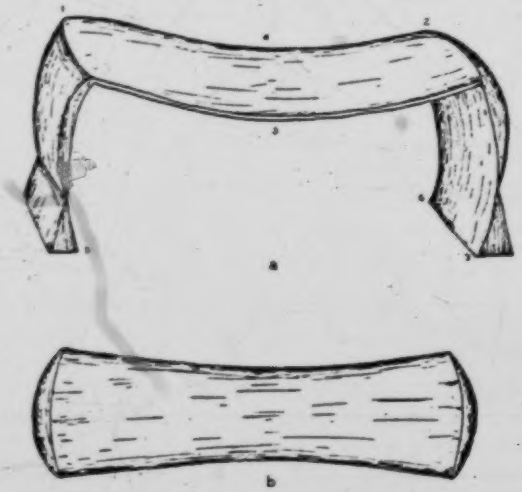


FIGURE 15.—Headrest, *hahapo* type. **a**, side view, 1-2, 30 cm.; 1-3, 9.5 cm.; 3-5, 12.5 cm.; 6-7, 10.5 cm.; 3-4, 7 cm. **b**, view from above.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

An important and very specialized craft in southern Lau is the making of large wooden slit-gongs (*lali*). They are made of a boat-shaped section of greenheart, hollowed out and with an open slot on one side. They are struck on the outside with a pair of wooden beaters. Slit-gongs are made and played in pairs, one large and one small. Two or more pairs are placed at intervals in the village. They are played by youths or men to mark village activities. Each ceremony—such as a funeral procession, the lifting of the 322 534

322 mourning tabu, or the call to service in the mission church—has its stylized
534 gong beat (fig. 4).

The natives are sensitive to the quality of gong tones, and full, round tones are much admired. A good gong maker is known throughout the group, and his gongs are recognized by their shape and sound. Namuka became the center of the gong industry in Christian times through the gong maker, Metui of Mbutolu clan. The natives believe that Metui came from Kambara. Slit-gongs from Namuka are in demand all over Lau and on Viti Levu. Today most of the men of Undu, Kambara, know how to make gongs, but only one or two men are really skillful.

Dance gongs (*lali ni meke*), also called *vakamalolo* gongs (*lali ni vakamalolo*), are also made on Namuka. This gong consists of a small canoe-shaped block of greenheart about 1 meter long, with a small rectangular opening on the flat or upper side. The true drum or membranaphone is absent in Lau.

The natives say that formerly panpipes (*nduvu soro*) were made on Kambara. They consisted of five or six pieces of bamboo of equal diameter and various lengths, tied together with hibiscus twist.

Nose flutes (*nduvu tavu*) were also made. They consisted of a length of bamboo about 35 cm. long and 5 cm. in diameter with 4 holes cut in the bamboo. The flute was played through the nose.

KAVA CUP

322 The kava cup (*mbilo ni yanggona*) is made by men from the pointed end
415 of a ripe coconut. The shell is scraped thin from the point outward with a
272 shell or a piece of glass so that the point is emphasized and the striations are
visible. It is polished inside and out and is rubbed with oil. Kava cups are occasionally made of greenheart.

WEAPONS

322 The most important weapons in Lau were the club (*i malungu*), the spear
411 (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

Clubs were made by specialists, called *matai ni malungu*, mainly of *thau* (*Casuarina nodiflora*) wood, carved with designs which were accentuated with lime. Many different types of clubs were used. Those known to informants were: *totokia, kiekiekavu, nggato, ndondonu, thulathula, malungu ni paki, linga ni marama,* and *manda*. There were also throwing clubs called *i kolo* and short clubs with thin handles and thick heads called *mbowai,* used for hand to hand conflict.

Spears were made by specialists, called *matai ni moto*. One-pointed spears were called *moto* and multi-pointed spears were called *saisai*. An effective

type of spear, called *tavaiongea* (cut on Ongea) was made on Ongea of *mbau* 322
barbed with points of greenheart. The following description of a *tavaiongea* 411
spear, formerly belonging to the chief of Fulanga, was obtained from an informant in Muanaithake.

> The shaft of the spear, of greenheart or *mbau* wood, was about 4 meters long. It had two very fine, strong points each about 15 cm. long, made of the tail of the *vai* fish. They were fitted to the wooden point of the spear shaft and tied securely with very fine black sennit (*mangimangi matai lalai ai lawa ni moto*), which was wrapped around the spear from the pointed end to the middle of the shaft. Above the points, secured to the shaft in the sennit, were six sharp barbs made of the same wood as the spear.

Ongea men say, however, that the *tavaiongea* did not have a point of bone.

None of the old men questioned had seen a bow and arrow, but they had heard that the bow was formerly made of mangrove, *moli* (trees of the *Citrus* group of Rutaceae), or *mbau* and tied with sennit. The arrow was made of a single piece of *mbau* or greenheart.

Exact information regarding the sling could not be obtained. Slingstones [323]
were unworked. No slingstones of baked clay were found.

Baskets

Baskets (*kato*) are made of plaited coconut leaflets. The most common 285
type is the *kato mbolambola* made and used mainly by men for carrying raw
and cooked food. The type is common in western Polynesia. It is called *'ato* [171]
fili tasi in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, pp. 189-194, figs. 97-99, pls. 12, *B* and 13, *A-D*). Other coconut-leaf baskets made by men are the *kato musu* and the *kato vuni* used as food containers.

WOMEN'S CRAFTS

Barkcloth

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CRAFT

The distribution of tapa making in Lau depends on the quality of the local 287
paper mulberry and on the presence of tapa making specialists, women who [463
belong to certain clans and hand down their art and tools to their daughters. 428]
Paper mulberry is found on every island, but the best quality for making tapa is grown only on Namuka and Mothe, the tapa making centers of southern Lau. However, of the six islands studied, tapa is made also on the island of Kambara.

Southern Lau and Lakemba are known for the type of tapa made into long sheets, called *ngatu*. This is an acceptable gift in any presentation ceremony and especially in demand as tribute to the high chief at Lakemba. It is highly prized throughout Fiji. Barkcloth in Lau is made into sheets according to two methods which have been called in this study the Fijian and

287 the Tongan methods. On Namuka and Mothe practically all the women make tapa sheets by the Tongan method. Only a few Mothe women and only two Namuka women, Vika of Nggalitoka clan and Penina of Nawatchia clan, use the Fijian method. Vika learned the art from her mother and Penina learned it from a woman of the Valakevoro clan of Undu, Kambara. On Kambara sheet tapa is made only by women born into the Valakevoro clan, Undu, who hand down the art to their daughters. Joana, the oldest living Valakevoro woman, says the technique was taught the women of the clan by Losalini Popua, a Tongan woman who married Luke Wanggavothe of Valakevoro. Since the Valakevoro specialists all live either in Undu or Nggalinggali in east Kambara, women of the west side of the island take strips of prepared inner bark to Undu where they make them up into sheets with the help of tapa making specialists.

Kalo of Fulanga says that when she was a child the Fulangan women made tapa sheets according to the Tongan method. Barkcloth is not made on Fulanga today.

ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK

287
561
[438]
Tapa sheets are exported from Namuka and Mothe to neighboring islands and to Lakemba, and the tapa makers of these two islands are organized by age groups into three companies (*kompani*) consisting of old women, middle-aged women and young women. On Namuka these groups are called Malumalungu, Veinggaravi and Tovolea, respectively; on Mothe they are called Malumalungu, Ruve, and Komete. The Komete group is divided into two parts, the young women from Nasau village and those from Korotolu. On Namuka all three companies are under one woman, Apikale, the wife of the district headman of Kambara. She is called *liuliu*. The companies receive her permission before filling orders for tapa sheets to be exported. The three companies have a special house in which they work on the edge of the village. Informants on Namuka say that the tapa makers were organized by the district headman and his wife a few years ago after they had returned from a visit to Tonga. The tapa makers on Kambara are not organized.

THE FIJIAN METHOD

287 Only the finest types of paper mulberry are used in the making of tapa by the Fijian method. Fijian sheet tapa from the types of paper mulberry called *masi ntchina* and *ndrauthoko* is made only from smooth, light-colored strips of prepared bark (*siku*) of uniform thickness. Torn strips are rejected. The first step in the somewhat complicated process is to remove the entire bark from the trunk of the paper mulberry by splitting it lengthwise, freeing the lower end with the teeth and pulling it off, a process called *ndrundru*. The

long strip of bark, about 7 cm. wide is then rolled (*vakaveveu*) into a coil 287 (*vakavivi*) inside out. The inner bark (*vanggangga*) is peeled from the outer bark (*kulina*) by separating the two at the lower end with a shell or knife and carefully pulling and cutting them apart, a process called *vothi*. The inner bark is then placed on a piece of bamboo and scraped (*kari*) with a *mulo* shell in order to clean and whiten it. The strips of bark are dried for about a day in the sun, a process called *singani*. In this dried state they may be kept indefinitely, but they keep best if wrapped in *mbekambeka* mats. They are stored on the beams of dwelling houses.

The next step is to beat out the bark, a process called *samusamu*. The 287 dried inner bark is soaked (*toni*) in salt water for a day or it is rolled and soaked in fresh water in a wooden bowl (*kumete vakalofau*). It is then 413 called *vue*. The *vue* is taken to a kitchen hut and beaten on a tapa board (*ndundua*) with a tapa mallet (*ike*). The tapa boards on Namuka are composed of *mbolavatu* or *mbuambua* wood; those on Mothe are composed of *tavola, mbuambua,* and *ndawa* wood obtained locally, and of *tavo* or *mbolavatu* wood imported from Fulanga, Ongea, Yangasa, or Namuka. On Kambara the tapa boards are of *yake*. The four-sided mallet of *thau* wood varies in size but not in shape. Two or three sides are incised with four or five deep grooves, the others left smooth. (Tapa board and beater are made in Lau by men.) The bark is beaten with the grooved sides first, then with the smooth side to eradicate watermarks. During the beating process the width of the bark increases to from 60 cm. to 1 meter. The strips are hung in the house to dry or spread out in the sun, the edges weighted with pebbles. The dry strips (*siku*) are now ready to be made into one of the following types of barkcloth: *i sala, masi tutuki, masi kuvui, masi vakarerenga,* or Fijian sheet tapa (*ngatu vaka Vitchi*).

I sala is made of a single strip of one thickness, beaten out thin. The 287 edges are usually cut into a fringe (*tatavu*). This type of tapa is the natural cream color of the inner bark. *I sala* is often soaked in coconut oil before being used. It is worn on ceremonial occasions and was formerly used for turbans worn by chiefs.

Masi kuvui (smoked tapa) is made of two strips fitted together into one thickness. It is folded and soaked in coconut oil in a wooden bowl. A wooden tripod is erected over a fire of green sugar-cane and ti leaves. Several pieces of oiled *masi* are placed on the tripod, covered with mats, and smoked to a golden brown color. *Masi kuvui* is occasionally worn at ceremonies.

Masi vakarerenga is made of a strip of *masi* soaked in oil mixed with powdered mangrove root and dried indoors. The resulting burnt orange tapa is used on ceremonial occasions, such as weddings, as a covering for the body or as streamers for wreaths.

287 531 *Masi tutuki* usually consists of two or more lengths of tapa, two thicknesses each. It is the width of the original strips (60 cm. to 1 meter) and is frequently several meters long. The edges are often cut into a fringe. It is decorated with a stenciled design in which the whole surface is either treated with a single circular unit called *vutu*, repeated in black on a field of white and edged with a border of black and brown geometric designs, or is divided by longitudinal lines into bands filled in with geometric designs in black and red brown. *Masi tutuki* is worn on ceremonial occasions and hung along the lower tie beams of a house as a wall decoration.

287 531 386 The design unit used for stenciling is made by folding the leaf of the banana, *vutu*, or pandanus and cutting it in such a way that it opens out into the desired unit. The open leaf is then spread on the surface of the barkcloth as a stencil and a piece of tapa dipped in dye is daubed over it. A relatively small number of design units are repeated and recombined according to one general pattern in most of the stencil work. Each design area and each unit is named (fig. 16).

The red-brown dye, called *kesa*, used for stencils and rubbings on tapa, is made by one of the following recipes.

[824] (1) The inner bark of the mangrove and the *ngandoa* are soaked in water in a wooden bowl for two days, the water is poured off, the bark is beaten with a stone pounder on a stone slab, water is added, and the mixture is strained and boiled. (2) The inner bark of the *kesmasi* or *yasiyasi* (*Eugenia*) is scraped, strained, and boiled. (3) The inner bark of the *sikethi* is treated in the same fashion. All three recipes are used on Namuka but the Namukan women say the first two are the best. On Kambara, where the mangrove is absent, only *ngandoa* is used.

[438] Black dye is made by boiling brown *kesa* dye for several hours. It is also produced by mixing brown *kesa*, soot, and red ochre (*umea*) imported from Komo.

287 The steps in tapa making described above can be carried out by one woman working alone. The process of joining strips into large sheets requires the cooperation of many women. According to the Fijian method the strips are joined by the felting process. I witnessed the felting process on Mothe where 14 women from all three companies were making a sheet of Fijian sheet tapa to be presented as tribute (called *ngatu na ka vanua*) to the high chief.

Tapa boards and old dugouts were placed end to end, to form a long tapa board. The women, each with a mallet, sat in a row along one side of and facing the board. Four damp, oblong strips were fitted together with parallel grain, to form one piece of four thicknesses. Twenty such units, of four thicknesses each, were passed out by the leader. The women spread them out lengthwise along the board and fitted them end to end. At the seam the piece consisted of eight thicknesses dovetailed with four thicknesses in the center, two above and two below. At a signal from the leader the women beat along the seam, the grooved sides of the mallets diagonal to it. The beating was done in unison and could be heard throughout the village. Next, the seams were sprinkled with water from small basins, one for every four or five women, and patted. The long damp piece was then shifted and the whole process repeated several times. The resulting sheet is called *katundrau*. 287

Two joined pieces are called *vesiku*. The next day the *katundrau* was spread on the village ceremonial ground to dry in the sun.

The design for Fijian sheet tapa is a formalized pattern made partly by stencil and partly by rubbing on tablets (p. 199). The surface of the sheet 287 531

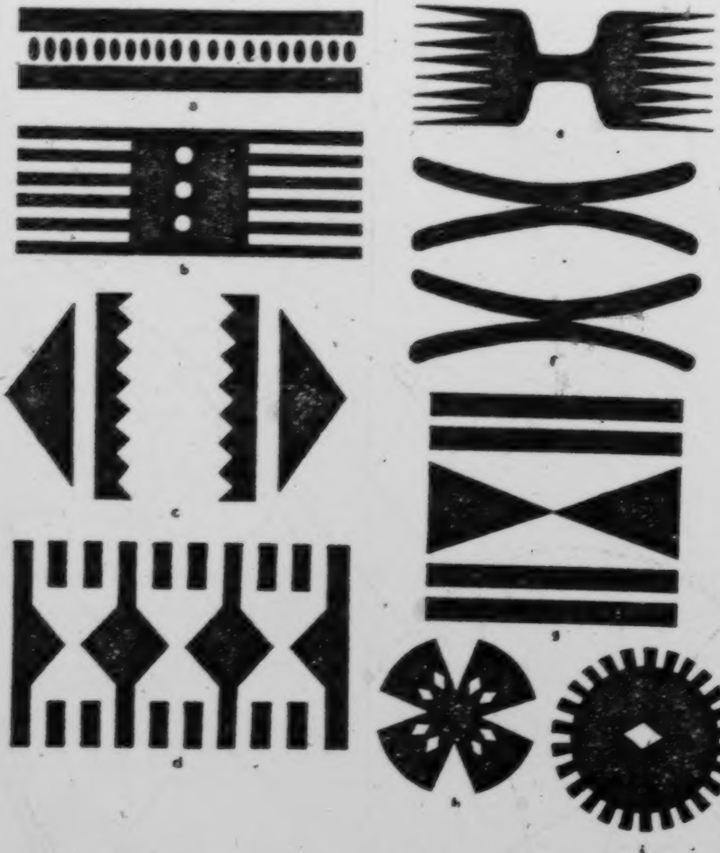


FIGURE 16.—Stencil designs used on tapa: a, *i wanggani* (cut from pandanus leaf); b, *vaka taitchi* (banana leaf); c, *vetau* (pandanus leaf); d, e, *i seru* (banana leaf); f, *ndraundrau nggivi* (banana leaf); g, *vetau nggangga* (banana leaf); h, i, *vutu* (*vutu* leaf).

287 531 is covered with rubbings with dye on a tablet except for a deep border along one edge which widens at regular intervals. The border is covered with stenciled geometric design units repeated regularly.

No two designs for Fijian tapa are identical, but each piece shows a unique combination of the same design units within the formal pattern. Vika, of Namuka, an expert in making Fijian sheet tapa, says she never copies another's designs but when she starts working on a sheet the design comes to her and she knows just what to do next.

Unfortunately time did not permit a thorough study of the creative process in connection with Fijian sheet tapa design. Such a study, however, would probably yield valuable results.

287 Fijian sheet tapa is never cut up into pieces. It is used to screen the nuptial bed from the remainder of the house in weddings of rank and to cover a corpse before burial. It was formerly used as a mosquito curtain (*tai namu*). According to the natives the best Fijian sheet tapa is made on Matuku Island.

THE TONGAN METHOD

Tapa made by the Tongan method is coarser than that made by the Fijian method, and for it coarse types of paper mulberry are used. The first steps in the process are the same as those for making tapa by the Fijian method except that the inner bark is not scraped in order to clean and whiten it. The dried coarse strips of prepared inner bark called *tutu*. Tongan sheet tapa (*ngatu vaka Tonga*) consists of a great many strips (*tutu*) joined by pasting (*totou*) into sheets which are frequently 4 meters wide and 75 meters long. The fruit of the *yambia*, boiled, peeled, and soaked in fresh water, is used as the adhesive agent; and the strips are joined only between February and August when the *yambia* is ripe.

287 531 Dye is applied by the method of rubbing over the surface of the barkcloth, which has been placed on thin tablets (*kupetchi*) ornamented with designs in relief. There are several types of tablets.

(1) The *tatau* type consists of long slats of mangrove root, 0.5 cm. in diameter, rolled with hibiscus bark and sewn in designs onto a background of pandanus. Twine is used today instead of hibiscus. This type was formerly made in Vanua Mbalavu and Lakemba. (2) The *sasa* or *tchikinikupetchi* type consists of midribs of coconut leaflets tied with sennit or hibiscus onto a background of pandanus. This type was formerly made in Ono. (3) The *tui* type consists of midribs of coconut leaflets tied with twine onto a background of coconut fiber. It was formerly made in Tonga.

Tablet designs consist of geometric figures and figures taken from nature (fig. 17). Tablets are not made on any of the islands under consideration. 439 They have been imported from Tonga, Ono, Vanua Mbalavu, and Lakemba. They are valuable possessions of individual women, inherited in the maternal

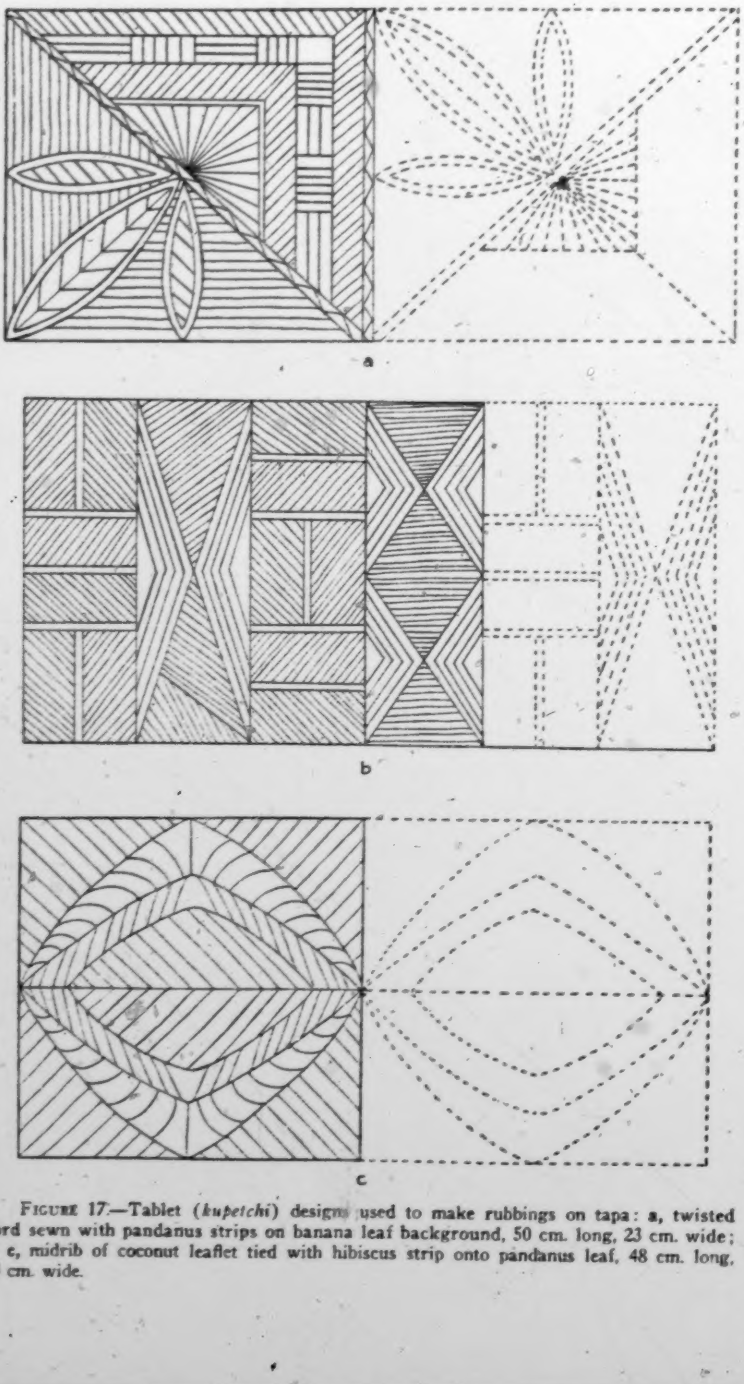


Figure 17.—Tablet (*kupetchi*) designs used to make rubbings on tapa: a, twisted cord sewn with pandanus strips on banana leaf background, 50 cm. long, 23 cm. wide; b, c, midrib of coconut leaflet tied with hibiscus strip onto pandanus leaf, 48 cm. long, 24 cm. wide.

287 531 line, and often used by many women on one island. The tapa makers of Namuka own a series of tablets in common, which were a gift from the wife of the late Ratu Finau. They are kept by the women of Nasoiya clan. According to the old women, tablets were introduced into Lau when the women learned to make barkcloth by the Tongan method. According to Fison (8, p. 162), designs used for tapa sheets in Fiji were formerly carved in relief on wooden tablets.

After a woman has beaten enough strips to make a long sheet of tapa, a day is set when the women of her company or of the village assemble early in the morning to help her join them. A woman who is expert at tapa making is in charge of the work. She is called *vakatautitu*. The husband of the woman whose tapa is being joined provides a midday feast (called *i ngga ni kesakesa*) for the helpers.

The tablets are placed on a board or an old inverted dugout. A long strip of tapa consisting of two strips pasted lengthwise at the edges with *yambia* glue, is stretched over the tablets and the surface is rubbed with a piece of tapa dipped in *kesa* dye (p. 196). The surface is then rubbed with *yambia*, and strips are pasted crosswise, so that the piece consists of two thicknesses of inner bark. The crosswise strips are rubbed with *kesa*. The whole piece is shifted and the process and design repeated until all the strips have been joined into one large sheet covered with red brown rubbings. Long sheets of Tongan tapa are marked and measured by lengths called *lalanga*, which correspond to the length of the board or dugout (*papa ni kesakesa*).

The sheets are stretched out on the ground to dry in the sun. When dry some of the large design units such as circles and isosceles triangles are outlined (*tothe*) with black dye by means of a shell or a piece of broken imported slate. I have seen 30 women working on one sheet at the same time (pl. 2, *C*).

Long sheets of Tongan barkcloth are used in presentations such as tribute to high chiefs, ceremonial exchange, weddings, and deaths. The sheets are presented outstretched and are held along the edges by women. Sheets of Tongan barkcloth are frequently cut into smaller pieces to be worn as a kilt or a wrapping for the whole body to protect it from the mosquitoes or the cold. Tongan barkcloth is also used for bedding and draperies.

MATS

PANDANUS-LEAF MATS

285 Mat (*yambe*) making from pandanus (*kie*) leaves is a specialized industry confined to the women of certain islands in Lau. Among the islands visited pandanus mats are made on Fulanga, Ongea, and Kambara.

The process of making mats from pandanus leaves proceeds as follows: 285

> The leaves are cut from the pandanus trees in the dry season. The spines are removed from the midrib of each leaf and the spiny edges of the leaves are cut off by means of a *kuku* shell. The leaves are spread on the ground in the sun (a process called *singa ni kie*) during the day and taken in at night until they lose their greenness (about one week). Each leaf is cleaned and flattened with a *walui* shell. Holding one end of the leaf in the left hand the mat maker scrapes the leaf away from the body with a shell held in the right hand. Twenty or more leaves are rolled into a large coil (*vakaveveu*) and tied with a piece of pandanus. The coils are rolled in a mat and stored until needed.
>
> Before plaiting the dried leaves are flattened out with a *walui* shell. Then the mat maker, relying on her eye, splits the leaves with a *kuku* shell into the required widths for wefts. She begins splitting at about 30 cm. from the base of the leaf and works toward the pointed end, away from her body. Then she turns the leaf and, with the pointed end toward her body, splits about 20 cm. toward the base end, so that about 10 cm. are left unsplit.
>
> The plaiting (*toli*) is commenced by crossing two butt strips. Plaiting techniques are simple. The basic technique is the diagonal check weave of single wefts which vary from 3 mm. to 4 cm. in width. One, two, and three twill weaves are used for ornamentation. The wefts in the border are usually narrower than those in the main body of the mat.

To make very fine, white mats the pandanus is prepared by a slightly different process. The green leaves, after having been stripped of their spines, are rolled into coils, tied, and boiled in fresh water for about half an hour. After the coils are untied and unrolled and the leaves are straightened by pulling, the leaves are dried in the sun for several days. The following types of pandanus mats are made in southern Lau:

Floor mats. *I tholo* is a large coarse floor mat used in the lower part of the house. *I thoni ni vale* is a fine floor mat used in the upper part of the house. *I tevutevu* is a floor mat with a wool border. Fine floor and sleeping mats are preferably fringed with imported yarn in bright colors. The value of mats is measured to a large extent by the number of rows of wool in the border. A mat completely bordered with wool is called *mbatchi wa vivi*. A mat with a wool border only on one side is called *mbatchi ndua*. 285 352

Sleeping mats (yambe ni mothe). *I kendre levu* or *i tonggitonggi* is a mat about 2 meters wide and 3 meters long made of rather narrow wefts. It is sometimes decorated with a border of wool and occasionally with black geometric designs. Sleeping mats are placed on the floor at night and rolled up in the morning. *Mbatchi mbara* is a large mat used to cover the couch (*vata*). The edge of the mat facing the lower part of the house is ornamented with several rows of wool. *I kendre lailai* is a mat used for infants (*yambe ni ngone*). It is soft and consists of fine wefts about 45 by 60 cm. *Tambu kai si* (forbidden to low ranking commoners) is made only on the island of Ono. [554] The wefts are very narrow and of triple thickness. It is a rare, valuable mat. The only mat of the *tambu kai si* type I saw was in the house of the chief of Nggalinggali on Kambara. The mat was 2.7 meters long and 1.8 meters wide.

285 352 with wefts 3 mm. wide. It had a border of black geometric designs and a wool fringe.

A kava mat (*yambe ni yanggona*) is slightly larger and coarser than a baby mat. It is unornamented.

An eating mat is long and narrow with coarse weave. One used in the high chief's household in Lakemba was about 28 meters long and 3 meters wide, with wefts 2 cm. wide. The edges were fringed with pandanus.

285 531 *Yambe volavola* are pandanus mats decorated with black geometric designs in twill or check weave made with wefts dyed black. The designs are placed across the entire surface of the mat in lengthwise or diagonal bands or lines, at the corners of the mat in triangles, or around the edge of the mat as a border (fig. 18). The designs are named. A zigzag line is called *wangga ni vasua* because it resembles the *vasua*, a shellfish. A border composed of short [384] parallel diagonal lines is called *somovuni*. The black dye (*somo*) is made of *sikethi* (p. 89).

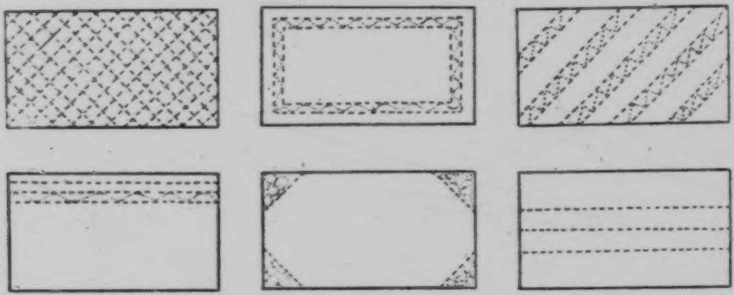


FIGURE 18.—Sketches of mats, showing design placement.

285 [854] According to aged informants, a very soft mat, called *latha*, was formerly used as a sling to carry infants on the back or the hip. The *latha* was of fine weave and about 2 meters long and 45 cm. wide.

[292] Another fine mat, the *tawala*, was formerly used as a dancing kilt. One corner of the mat was bent down and the mat was tied around the waist with a piece of barkcloth or sennit. Old mats worn by mourners are also called *tawala*.

[622] A very fine, white mat, called *tawake*, was tied to the mast of a chief's canoe as a flag or emblem of rank.

[237] Natives say that mat fringe, although called *kula* (red parakeet), was formerly made of rooster feathers or of the inner bark of the *sitchi* in southern Lau. The feathers from the red parakeet were used to fringe mats in the Moala group but not in southern Lau, according to informants.

COCONUT-LEAF MATS

Coconut-leaf mats, which have no trade value, are made throughout the 285
Lau group. There are two types, the *tambakau* and the *mbekambeka*.

The *tambakau* mat is made by either a man or a woman out of a single young, tender coconut leaf. The leaf is dried in the sun until it turns yellow brown. Then the midrib of the leaf is trimmed and the close leaflets are plaited from the midrib outward. The ends are turned under and worked into the weave. *Tambakau* mats are used as mat cushions on the floor of the [352]
dwelling house to protect the floor mats. They are also used as door screens.

Mbekambeka are rough mats made easily and quickly by either men or women, and used for door screens, fish ropes, and protective coverings for rolls of dried pandanus, pandanus mats, and barkcloth. The *mbekambeka* mat is made out of a single mature coconut leaf. The midrib of the leaf is trimmed and split lengthwise. The open leaflets of each half are plaited from the midrib out, and the halves are rejoined by braiding together the ends of the leaflets, starting at the upper end and working toward the lower end of the leaf.

Baskets

The most common type of women's basket in Lau is the *kato tchina*, which [415]
is common in western Polynesia. The type is called *ola tu* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, p. 198; pl. 14, *B*). Other women's baskets are the fishing basket (*noke*) and the carrying basket (*ketekete*).

Baskets of pandanus made by the method of right-angled plaiting have [177]
been introduced recently into Lau from Fiji proper. *Walaki* baskets of the coiled type are made in Lau and are imported from Rotuma. *Walaki* baskets [439]
of the twined type are not made in Lau but are imported from Fiji proper.

Temporary plates (*i tambe*) of the common western Polynesian type (called *mailo* in Samoa, Buck, 2, p. 183; pl. 12, *C*; fig. 91), made of open coconut leaflets, are used for feasts in Lau and discarded immediately afterwards.

Permanent trays made of closed coconut leaflets are called *lalakai*. They are used by persons of high rank only and are rarely seen in southern Lau.

Coconut Oil

Coconut oil (*waliwali*) is made only by women in Lau. Usually the 303
women of a household or a subclan cooperate in the task. The Lauans like their coconut oil strongly and pungently scented, so gathering and combining fragrant flowers, fruit, bark, leaves, and roots is the first step in the process of oil making. The following plants are used:

FLOWERS

303 [824] langakali: grows wild in the bush and is also cultivated
makosoi: cultivated
mbuambua (Guettarda speciosa)
ronga
mbuandromu
uthi (Evodia hortensis)
vandra

FRUIT

makita: cultivated on Mothe and Kambara
mamba: imported from Lakemba and Totoya
lemba (Eugenia neurocalyx)
seasea (Eugenia richii)
paonggo
mbulu: imported from Totoya

BARK

sandalwood: imported from Lakemba, Oneata, and Mbua
mathou (Cinnamomum): imported from Kandavu and Tailevu

LEAVES

cinnamon: imported from Lakemba and Viti Levu
lenggalengga (Croton metallicus)

ROOTS

pako

The tough outer skin is removed from fruit, which is then pounded with a stone on a flat slab and added to the oil. Bark and roots are pounded in the same way. Some plants are either used alone or are combined with other plants, according to the preference of the oil makers. Sandalwood, *langakali,* and *makosoi* are most highly prized. Other plants are used only in combinations, never alone.

Perfumed coconut oil is made as follows:

> When the fragrant plants have been collected, about 40 to 50 ripe coconuts (*i loloi*) are gathered off the ground in baskets (*kato mbolambola*) by either men or women, husked, and grated into a wooden bowl. The grated coconut is strained with a hibiscus strainer and the oil is poured into a bowl of the *sendre* type. The fragrant plants are added to the oil, and the bowl is covered with barkcloth or a mat and set over night. The next day the mixture is poured into an old dugout placed in the sun. A piece of sheet iron is occasionally used instead of the dugout today. The mixture is stirred frequently. When the oil starts to run the dugout is tilted slightly in order to drain the oil into a bowl placed under one end. The oil is now ready for use.

[415 439] Coconut oil was formerly bottled in gourd containers made of the fruit of the *fango* (*Lagenaria vulgaris*) which was imported ready for use from Viti Levu. The *fango* does not grow in southern Lau. Gourd containers were corked with coconut fiber (*i songo ni tavaya*) wrapped with tapa. The storing of oil is not a problem today for the natives keep only enough oil on hand for their personal use, and it is kept in imported bottles.

302 Perfumed coconut oil is used by men, women, and children to keep the skin soft and protect it from the sun, the cold, and the salt water. After bathing in the sea a little oil is poured on the hand, rubbed between the palms, and over the body, especially on the legs, arms, and hair. Oil is used profusely by *meke* dancers. [832] The natives say that the sheen and perfume of oil on the skin enhances sexual attraction.

NETTING AND ROPE

FISHLINES

The process of making fishlines was witnessed only on the island of Fulanga. Fishlines are made only by women in Lau, but men occasionally help to procure from the bush *ronga* bark, from which the lines are made. The bark is stripped from the *ronga* branches in pieces from 2 to 3 meters long and rolled into coils (*pupu*), a process called *thimbini*. The next day the coils are unrolled and the outer bark is stripped off, a process called *kulina*.

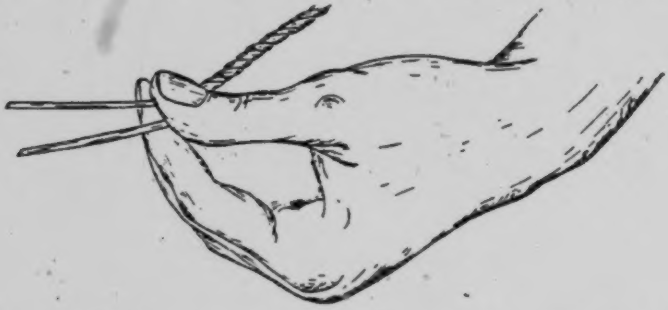


FIGURE 19.—Fishline technique. First step in rolling shreds of *ronga* bark into two-ply twist: two strands of two shreds each are held, one end of each strand between thumb and first finger of the left hand, so that thumb separates strands.

The inner bark (*lewe ni kulina*) is sunned for several days until it is dry and white, a process called *singani*, and then it is hung indoors until needed. Before shredding the inner bark it is placed in the lagoon and scraped with a *kuku* shell, a process called *kalui*. It is dried in the sun again and then softened and scraped into shreds with a *ndamba* shell. To roll the shred into a two-ply twist, a woman proceeds as follows:

> She sits with knees straight and legs crossed left over right in front of her. She places a bundle of shreds in her lap, then takes two strands of two shreds each and holds one end of each strand between thrumb and first finger of the left hand, so that the thumb separates the strands (fig. 19). With the right hand she rolls each strand into a ply on the bare calf of her left leg. One movement away from the body usually suffices. With her right hand, she separates the two plies from her left thumb to the ends. Then she rolls the two plies on her calf into a two-ply twisted cord, with one movement away from her body and another toward it. This completes about 7 cm. of cord. She separates the two plies at the unfinished end of the line and repeats the process until one ply becomes short and thin. Then she adds another shred of bark from the pile in her lap by placing it beside the weak ply and holding the two between thumb and first finger. With her right hand she pulls the new shred toward the unfinished end of the cord until she holds it with her thumb about 3 cm. below the upper end. She turns this upper end down along the second ply (which has not been reinforced) and proceeds. [516]

283 The two-ply twist is used as a fishline and in making fishnets. It is made
227 in several degrees of thickness. Fishlines made of the inner bark of the *ronga* are said to be stronger than imported lines.

FISHNETS

286 The process of making a fishnet (*lawa*) was witnessed only once, in the village of Naivindamu, Fulanga (pl. 3,*B*). The netting technique, as illustrated in figure 20, is described as follows:

> A two-ply twist made of the inner bark of the *ronga* is wound on a shuttle (*i sikani*) 42.5 cm. long, composed of *mbau thana* wood. A mesh gauge consisting of a smooth, flat board (*papa*) is used. Gauges are of various widths depending on the size of the mesh desired. To make a net 6 meters long and 2 meters wide, a gauge 3 cm. wide is used. The mesh at the end of the first row is hooked by means of sennit to the big toe.

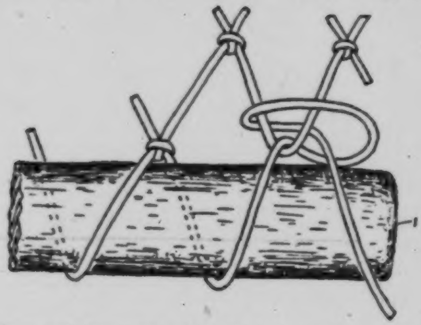


FIGURE 20.—Fishnet technique: two-ply twist is knotted around mesh gauge (1).

TURTLE NETS

Turtle nets, called *lawa ni vonu*, are made of sennit. The only one in southern Lau is kept on the northeast shore of Sauvanaroa, the Wangava lake. It is about 30 fathoms long and 8 fathoms wide. It is made of sennit knotted into a mesh 30 cm. square. Ropes of hibiscus bark form the border. Along
[824] the entire length of one side of the net, dried halved *vutu* (*Barringtonia*) nut shells are fastened side by side as floats. The other side is anchored with stones on the lake bottom. When not in use the net is hung across a rod set on two forked stakes.

ROPE

283 A three-ply pandanus braid, called *i ndreue*, is made and used by women only. Five or six strips of pandanus, each about 1 cm. wide, form a ply. Three plies are held by the foot while braiding and loose ends are cut with a knife. The rope is used for binding baskets to the back or for tying bundles.

Liquid Containers

The soup cup (*mbilo ni su*) is made from the pointed end of a green coconut. The point is scraped off and the outer surface is made smooth with a shell or a bit of glass. New soup cups are light in color, old ones dark. 415 824

To make coconut-shell water containers (*pupu*), the three openings in a green coconut are punctured and the nut is filled with water. When the meat rots the nut is emptied and refilled with water until it is clean. The outside of the shell is scraped, and the container is hung up with a piece of sennit.

Gourd water containers (*ndanu ni wai*) are made from gourds of the *sina* plant, which grows wild in the bush. The pointed end is cut off the ripe gourd, the seeds are loosened by shaking the fruit. The seeds are removed, and the fruit is dried in the sun. The gourd hardens and is then ready for use.

ECONOMIC EXCHANGE

Economic exchange in Lau is based on rivalry for social prestige. Each side, whether an individual, a clan, or a village, strives to outdo the other by presenting gifts which are of greater value in quantity and quality than those of the opponents. Exchange is a competitive game in which the side which loses materially wins socially. The aim is to play so cleverly that one gains as much as possible socially, while losing as little as possible economically. 431 556

Most economic exchanges in Lau, including minor affinal exchanges and payments for professional services as well as small quantities of tribute, are made according to the ceremonial presentation pattern (pp. 65-66). Large payments of property, including affinal exchanges and intervillage trade are made according to the *solevu* ceremonial pattern, which consists of an elaboration of the ceremonial presentation pattern.

Types of Exchange

KEREKERE

A system of soliciting or begging, called *kerekere*, is important in the economic and social life of Lau. *Kerekere* is a non-ceremonial solicited gift exchange with deferred, solicited payment. An individual or a group may solicit from another individual or group any property not tabu. If the owner refuses to give up the property he will lose face. If he gives he will gain prestige. The recipient is under obligations to the donor, who at some future time will solicit something, probably of greater value, from him. Property of little value, such as tobacco and kava, as well as property of high value, such as pigs, canoes, and the use of garden land is solicited. An industrious man is continually giving away property in return for social prestige. The system functions among the chiefs as well as among the people. Even tribute

431 to a chief is not accumulated by him but is put into circulation again either through his obligations or the soliciting system.

556 The *kerekere* system prevents accumulation and centralization of wealth by any individual or group and promotes continual redistribution. Property serves as the medium by which social prestige may be acquired. A loss of property through gift exchange means a gain in prestige—the material loss, through giving, equals a social gain. But prestige cannot be accumulated and stored. As a commodity it is perishable and must be renewed frequently. Under the system the rewards go to the industrious and clever man—to the worker; the lazy man loses out. There is social rather than economic insecurity.

SOLEVU

A *solevu* is a competitive form of ceremonial gift exchange of the potlatch type between rival, related groups. The *solevu* pattern involves announcement by messengers displaying the property to be presented in a procession and in a pile on the ceremonial ground, ceremonial presentation of a whale's tooth and the property, dancing, and the distribution of goods (pp. 73-74). A *solevu* is usually planned months ahead, to allow time for making and collecting the property. Payment may be either immediate or deferred. Large *solevu* are usually accompanied by barter between related individuals who are participating in the *solevu* as members of rival groups. Whales' teeth, mats, tapa, food, woodwork, canoes, and sennit are the most important articles of exchange.

Solevu are held between villages or clans. The basic motive for many intervillage *solevu*, especially if the villages are located on different islands in Lau, is economic. The *solevu* is a form of economic exchange, which serves to provide for local deficiencies in natural resources and supplement local industries. At the same time it provides a means by which the spirit of rivalry may be expressed and prestige may be gained. Interclan *solevu* are usually affinal exchanges in which the underlying motive is social rather than economic. They serve to express and emphasize the bond between two clans related by marriage. They are held at marriage, birth, the first birthday of the first-born, and death.

TRIBUTE

431
651 A variation on the *solevu* ceremonial exchange pattern serves in the payment of tribute to a chief. Property collected from a village or an island is present according to the *solevu* form with deferred payment but no equivalent return payment is made although a small return gift of tobacco or other property is made by the chief. Also, in the payment of tribute, rivalry plays a part, for the value of the tribute offering affects the prestige of the donors.

The tribute system is related to the *kerekere* system in that while *kerekere* is soliciting between relatives, tribute is soliciting of the people by the chief. However, *kerekere* is a reciprocal exchange between more or less equals, whereas tribute is a non-reciprocal payment of property by the people to the chief, and *kerekere* is non-ceremonial whereas tribute is ceremonial. Small quantities of tribute, such as the first fruit offerings are offered according to the ceremonial presentation pattern. 431 651

PAYMENT FOR SERVICES

Another type of ceremonial exchange is the payment of goods in return for professional services of carpenters, doctors, midwives, *meke* makers, and master fishermen. This is a reciprocal exchange in which payment of goods is usually deferred until after the services have been rendered and paid in a lump sum of property offered according to the presentation pattern. 431 [465]

VASU AND TAUVU

The *vasu* relationship involves a formalized exchange of property with deferred payment which is not reciprocally balanced. It has been described on pages 62-64. 431 571

I was not able to gather much information concerning the *tauvu* relationship. Informants agree that if two villages have the same *vu* (forefather) they are *tauvu*. This means that they may take each other's property. It seems, therefore, that the relationship involves a formalized reciprocal exchange of property with deferred payment between villages related by descent from a common mythical ancestor. Each village has the privilege of seizing property from the other village.

Kambara is *tauvu* to Vatoa, a village near Mbau on Viti Levu. Their mutual *vu* is Mberawalaki. When Kambarans go to Vatoa village they may seize property there and when Vatoans go to Kambara they may do likewise. Kambara is also *tauvu* to Nukuloa village, Thakaundrove, but Nukuloa is not *tauvu* to Vatoa. Oloi in Tailevu, Viti Levu, is *tauvu* to Kambara. Mualevu district on Vanua Mbalavu is *tauvu* to Vanua Vatu Island. Mothe is *tauvu* to Lauthala at Rewa on Viti Levu. Mothe is also *tauvu* to Taveuni. Matakana, Ono, is *tauvu* to Kamali clan, Mothe. The natives of the other islands visited say they do not know their *tauvu* relationships.

BARTER

Barter may be defined as a non-ceremonial form of direct reciprocal gift exchange. Barter is often used by traders who sail to distant islands to exchange their wares with relatives. Also, it accompanies every large ceremonial exchange. 437

437 For example, at a recent *solevu* between Muanaithake and Komo (pp. 73-74), held at Fulanga, besides the property for the *solevu*, each Komo man brought property to barter (*vakasombu*) with his Fulangan relatives. He simply placed the gift (*vakasombu*) in the relative's house, saying, "This is your so and so." Later the recipient asked what was wanted as a return gift (*i tala*) and he tried to outdo the other in the quantity and quality of the gift.

One Komo man gave his Fulangan relative as *vakasombu* two baskets of manioc, one basket of bananas, and one basket of breadfruit. The Fulangan man gave as the return gifts four mats, two wooden bowls, and three chickens. The Fulangan man won. Those carrying goods to another island initiate the exchange and usually return with more than they have given.

INTERISLAND TRADE

NATIVE TRADE GOODS

Kambara

438 The chief exports of Kambara are large canoes, wooden bowls (especially kava bowls), mats, some Tongan barkcloth (the foregoing are distributed all over Lau and in Fiji proper), timber for house posts and digging sticks distributed to the volcanic islands, and coconut oil and *vetau* bark for hair dye. The chief imports of the island are tobacco, kava, and food (including yams, sweet yams, taro, and breadfruit) from the volcanic islands and Namuka, basaltic stones from the volcanic islands, barkcloth from Namuka, bamboo and *walaki* baskets from Fiji proper, and perfumes for oil from Lau and Viti Levu. Kambara gets from Wangava turtles, garden produce, and shellfish.

Namuka

The most important export of Namuka is Tongan barkcloth. Most of it is traded to Lakemba in exchange for yams and taro; some is traded to Kambara for mats, kava and food bowls, and occasionally for a small canoe for use within the reef: a small amount finds its way to all the southern Lau islands except Ono (which produces sufficient Tongan barkcloth to supply her own demands). Namuka also exports gongs, which go to Lakemba, Suva, and Kambara and small canoes for lagoon use. Last year seven canoes were sent from Namuka to Lakemba, Matuku, and Moala. Manioc, breadfruit, yams, and bananas are traded to Fulanga and Ongea in return for mats and bowls; yams to Kambara in return for mats and bowls; to Komo and Mothe in return for food; sweet potatoes and watermelons (known as the best in Lau) to Lakemba.

Mothe

438 Mothe exports manioc, sweet yams, yams, and bananas, tobacco, kava, *sikethi* for dye, volcanic stones and reeds to Fulanga, Ongea, and Kambara. Mothe also exports Fijian barkcloth in small quantities to all the neighboring islands, but chiefly to Lakemba. Mothe receives from the islands to the south all her canoes, heavy timber for house posts, adz handles, wooden bowls, digging sticks, tapa boards, and mats. Some of these manufactured articles are used locally but others are traded in turn to Lakemba. Mothe also imports banana shoots and taro plants, as well as taro roots from Lakemba, paper mulberry plants from Namuka, and sandalwood seed from Oneata and Lakemba. She receives *vunga* leaves, used for dyeing the hair, from Komo and Kambara.

Fulanga

The chief exports of Fulanga are canoes, headrests, mats and mat sails, timber, fowl, wooden bowls, digging sticks, and shellfish. These articles are sent chiefly to Mothe and Namuka in return for food, mainly manioc.

Ongea

The chief exports of Ongea are canoes, mats and mat sails, food bowls (especially *papasia*), and timber, mainly to Mothe, in exchange for food, tobacco, barkcloth, and kava.

IMPORTED TRADE GOODS

439 Metal axes, knives, and cooking pots, matches, tobacco, fishhooks and a small amount of trade cloth, kerosene, and soap are imported to the southern islands. They are usually bartered in exchange for copra.

TRADERS

438 Formerly the Levukans of Lakemba were professional sailors and traders (p. 35). There are no professional traders in Lau today. The most active traders are the natives of Fulanga and Ongea, who are dependent on the islands to the north for food. They trade chiefly with Mothe and Namuka, never with Kambara. On Fulanga the natives of the village of Naivindamu do most of the sailing, although Muanaira owns the largest number of sailing canoes. Fulanga and Ongea are rarely visited by traders. Mothe, situated at the junction of trade routes from the north, south, and west, is a trade center. The natives of Mothe trade with all their neighbors. They act as middlemen in exchanging goods, especially from southern Lau northward as far as Lakemba. Namuka is also a trade center. Both Namuka and Mothe are visited by trading canoes from all the southern islands. The natives of

438 Namuka own no large sailing canoes and all the exports from Namuka are carried by canoes from other islands. The natives of Kambara make trading journeys to Namuka, Komo, Mothe, and occasionally to Lakemba.

438 487 Trade routes tend to follow a south-north, north-south direction. The main trade routes in southern Lau are:

1, Fulanga or Ongea to Mothe either directly or via Namuka
2, Fulanga to Namuka either directly or via Mothe
3, Kambara to Mothe via Wangava and Namuka
4, Kambara to Lakemba via Wangava, Komo, Olorua, and Aiwa, returning either via the same route or via Aiwa, Oneata, Komo, and Wangava
5, Mothe to Lakemba via Oneata and Aiwa

Interisland traders tend to start out northward and take advantage of the southeast trades. For the return journey they must await a change of weather. They usually return after from 3 to 21 days.

438 505 Most of the native interisland trade is carried by sailing canoes, occasionally by cutter. The canoes are loaded with great care. Wooden bowls are placed in the hull, barkcloth and mats, wrapped in old mats, are placed on the deck, and timber is lashed to the deck.

438 Interisland trade is informal, usually carried on by groups of sailors, in from one to five canoes. Less trading is done during the northwest monsoon, especially by Kambarans, Namukans, and Mothese, than during the remainder of the year.

[602] Exchange is effected mainly by means of barter, although occasionally by the ceremonial presentation pattern. It is practically always carried on between relatives who act as hosts to the traders, housing and feeding them while they remain on the island. Goods are usually exchanged not singly but in piles. There are no fixed prices and there is no medium of exchange. (See pages 209-210.) First the initial payment or gift is made. The exchange is satisfactory if the return payment or gift is "levu" (big) for quantity is very important. Each transaction involves a unique adjustment between economic necessity and rivalry for social prestige on the part of traders.

CONCLUSION

105 Lauan culture consists of a mixture of three complexes—the culture of the aborigines, that of the immigrants from the west, and that of the Tongans from the east. The key to this configuration is found on the island of Kambara in southern Lau. Fortunately for the ethnologist, Kambara is not only isolated in the Fiji group, but the island combines a simple natural environment with an important natural economic monopoly. Kambara's isolation, like that of Fulanga and Ongea, permitted the survival of the land people, the aboriginal inhabitants. Hardwood attracted the major exotic cul-

tural streams first from the west and later from the east, which moulded the culture of eastern Fiji. Finally Kambara's lack of fertile land and lack of outside contact limited this culture to simple, analytical form.

The historic division of Lauan society is clear on Kambara and practically nowhere else in the group. Here is found the answer to Hocart's "dual organization" problem. He states (15, p. 232), "The most characteristic feature of Lauan society is the tendency to divide all groups into two parts which are again divided into two, and so on, till the smallest unit is reached." What appeared on Lakemba as a dual organization is really the opposition of the chief group to the land group on the basis of rank. This two-fold historic *yavusa* division, however, is found only on islands like Lakemba, Mothe, and Kambara where there is a chiefs' phratry (*yavusa turanga*). On islands like Fulanga and Ongea, where the population is composed of the lower class (*yavusa vanua*), it is absent. Moreover, there are at least five historic *yavusa* groups, not just two, in Lau. The only groups which tend to divide into two parts are clans, in that a clan which has grown large frequently splits into two. Clans are frequently composed of two or three subclans and a subclan is usually composed of several households.

According to the available evidence the land people (*kai vanua*) or lower class in Lau are descendants of the earliest inhabitants of the eastern archipelago. They had a simple social organization. The basic social unit was a unilateral kinship and local group called *tokatoka*. Political power was in the hands of the old men and there was little interest in social prestige or pedigrees. The early inhabitants subsisted mainly on jungle produce, fishing and perhaps a little gardening on the volcanic islands and they had a simple technology. They believed in local spirits worshipped with offerings at sacred places called *na sava* (for instance, caves). They had first fruits' ceremonies and probably boys' initiation ceremonies and their rites centered around their religious life. They believed in their local origin from some natural phenomenon such as a tree or an animal and in a local abode of the soul after death. They had no migration tales.

The culture of the aborigines of Lau as described above is Melanesian in type. It is similar to the culture of the low Fijians of western Viti Levu as described by Hocart (14). Moreover, descendants of the early inhabitants found in greatest numbers on the island of Fulanga tend to be shorter, darker skinned, coarser featured, frizzier haired than the descendants of the immigrants who now form the nobility in Lau. The aborigines were apparently Melanesian in physical type and not Polynesian as assumed by Hocart (15, p. 230). The facts suggest that a Melanesian culture and race similar to that of the low Fijians and the early land people of Lau were once widespread in the Fiji group.

105 About ten generations ago, according to the genealogies and tradition, a group of immigrants from Viti Levu under the leadership of the war hero, Ndaunisai, introduced a highly organized culture into southern Lau. According to the natives they brought "light" (*rarama*) to the "darkness" (*mbutombuto*) of the aborigines. Upon the basic social unit of the early inhabitants they imposed a complicated system of rank by which every clan stood in definite relationship to every other clan. The ranking system was founded mainly on seniority in relationship to the leader, Ndaunisai, and on success in warfare. Hence clan genealogies were important. Rank was expressed in hereditary clan titles depending on a historical division of clans. Clans which descended from the immigrants (who married women of the early inhabitants and acquired land thereby) formed the chiefs' phratry or nobility (*yavusa turanga*). Clans which descended from the early inhabitants formed the land phratry or lower class (*yavusa vanua*). The highest rank was held by the high chief, who was directly descended in the first-born line from the most powerful immigrant, Ndaunisai.

The ranking system was reflected in a hierarchy of clan ancestor gods (*kalou vu*). At the top stood Ndengei, the forefather of Ndaunisai. The clan ancestor gods were propitiated by hereditary priests (*mbete*) in small god houses (*mbure kalou*). However, although the newcomers worshipped their ancestor ghosts as clan deities, the descendants of the aborigines retained their local gods with their local units. The purpose of worship was to obtain mana expressed in the form of social prestige, which became the highest social value. Emphasis was placed on the divinity of the chief, as representative of the most powerful ancestor god on earth, and ceremonial life tended to become secularized and to concentrate around him.

Although fishing, collecting, and gardening continued to be the basis for subsistence, production was organized and industry developed a high degree of skill. The chiefs stimulated craftsmanship by attaching specialists to their courts and extracting heavy tribute from their subjects. The most important specialists were the hereditary carpenters. This group, called the *matai sau* (chiefs' carpenters), claimed descent from the *matai sau* immigrants, who, according to tradition, reached Lau from Viti Levu before the war hero, Ndaunisai. They formed the chiefs' carpenter phratry (*yavusa matai sau*), a small group which ranked relatively high. Later, under Tongan influence, they were superseded by Matai Lemaki, a Samoan, who became the high chief's carpenter, and by his descendants who formed a small group called the *lemaki* carpenter phratry (*yavusa matai lemaki*).

Rivalry between social groups led to strife. Fortifications were built on every island, but gradually the small, poor islands became dependent upon the larger, richer islands like Lakemba and Kambara. There arose small chiefdoms, within which the weaker islands stood in tributary relationship to the stronger. Finally Lakemba became the most powerful chiefdom in Lau.

The culture brought to Lau by the immigrants from Viti Levu is Polynesian in type and similar to that of the high Fijians of eastern Viti Levu as described by Hocart (14). Furthermore, the immigrants, as evidenced by their descendants, the nobles of Lau, were Polynesian in racial type. From the evidence at hand, therefore, we may definitely assume that the immigrants from Viti Levu were early high Fijians and that the migration into Lau was part of the movement, recorded in the genealogies and traditions of Viti Levu, by which the high Fijians spread their culture and racial strain over eastern Viti Levu, the islands of the Koro Sea, and a large part of Vanua Levu.

The culture complex brought by the early high Fijians into Lau is of general Polynesian type and cannot be classed as western Polynesian as defined by Burrows (3). The facts lead to the inference that the ancestors of the high Fijians were an offshoot of an early Polynesian migration which passed through western Polynesia into central and eastern Polynesia before the development of the distinctly western Polynesian type of culture found in Samoa, Tonga, and adjacent islands.

Polynesian influence from the west began in Lau with Tongan contact in the late prehistoric period and reached its height in the middle of the nineteenth century. Tongan influence is found especially in Lauan social life and technology but its effect was weakened by the penetration of western civilization into the group. The Tongans introduced the western Polynesian concept of divine chieftainship and rank expressed in social ceremonial and in new forms of court etiquette, of kava drinking, and of dancing. Their outstanding contributions to material culture were the western Polynesian oval house type with parallel purlins and technique of pasting tapa into long sheets and decorating them by means of rubbing on designs raised on tablets. Tongan influence is responsible for most of the western Polynesian traits in Lauan culture and also to a great extent for the fact that the Lauans are more Polynesian in racial type than the high Fijians of Fiji proper.

In short, Lauan culture situated at the meeting point of the Melanesian and the Polynesian culture areas is truly marginal. It contains a unique fusion of Melanesian, early Polynesian, and western Polynesian complexes. Partly through historical accident, partly through natural environment, it has been possible to obtain a time prospective on the merging process in Lau. This prospective not only illuminates the Lauan culture itself, but throws light on the culture of the whole Fijian group and contributes toward the understanding of the culture history of Oceania.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

172 [751] The southern Lau islands offer a rich and virgin field to the archaeologist. Overgrown by jungle and ravaged by weather, most of the archaeological sites are avoided by the natives. If one finds it necessary to approach or pass a site he stops singing and joking, removes his turban and face paint (worn as protection against the sun), and frequently says a prayer. The bones of ancestors are tabu and may not be touched.

A few sites, mainly on Kambara and Wangava, were examined in order to check the historical data, but no attempt was made to study the archaeology systematically, to clear land, to excavate, or to remove skeletal material. The following brief notes, which indicate the types of sites found on the islands, may throw light on the culture history of the islands.

FORTRESSES

172 712 Fortress (*koro*) sites, situated on strategic high points, are found on every island which is or has been habitually inhabited. They were formerly occupied by the inhabitants of neighboring hamlets in times of war. On the limestone islands they were protected, as at Naisevou on Kambara, by a series of undressed limestone walls (*mba vatu*) designed to reinforce and supplement the natural advantages afforded by cliffs or caves. On the volcanic islands they were fortified, like Ndelaimakotu on Mothe, by means of a series of earth ramparts surmounted in times of war by wooden fences. Each had house sites, a cemetery, and a ceremonial ground in the walled area. The names and locations of the fortress sites connected with each local group have been noted (pp. 22-26). A description of several fortresses located on limestone islands follows. No fortress sites on volcanic islands were studied.

NAISEVOU

An example of an unusually strong type of fortress is Naisevou (fig. 21) on Kambara. According to tradition it was built by Ndaunisai (table 2) and was never defeated in warfare. Naisevou and Korombalavu on Wangava (p. 220) are reputed to be the only fortresses that were not destroyed by fire in olden days. The site is located on a level ledge (about 197 by 60 meters) in the limestone cliffs about 38 to 41 meters above Tokalau village, and 28 meters below Nakorovusa, another fortress site on the edge of the ridge. The site commands an unobstructed view of the ocean and the Tokalau passage. Except for a garden clearing at the southwest end, the site is overgrown with bush and fruit trees, especially coconut trees. The fortress consisted of an inner village on high ground, protected by walls on the northeast and the southwest (fig. 21, 2), and two outer fortified areas on lower ground, protected by two outer walls (fig. 21, 1, 3). The walls consist of undressed limestone which supplements the natural protection afforded by the cliff. All four walls are parallel and extend inland from the edge of the precipice. They are well preserved. On the surface of the ground in the fortified areas (fig. 21, 1, 3) were found potsherds, an adz blade of Tridacna, and irregular lines of stones which the natives said marked burials.

172
712

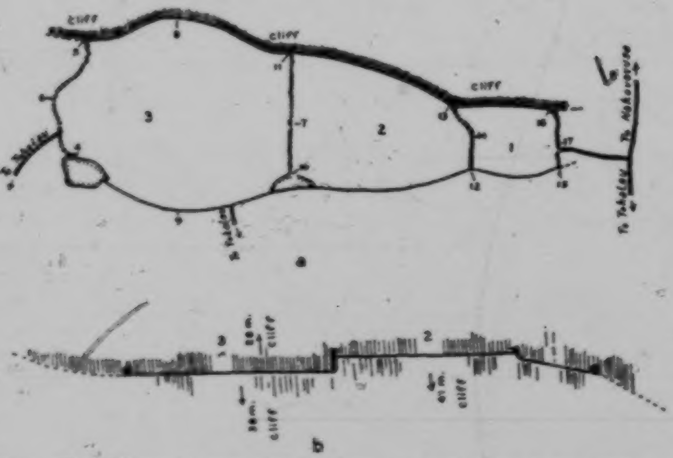


FIGURE 21.—Naisevou fortress site, Kambara. a, sketch map of site which occupies three levels (1, 2, 3), separated by rough limestone defense walls 1-2.60 meters high, 0.30-1 meter wide; 1 and 3 were outer fortified areas, house sites were located in 2. Measurements: 4-5, 37 meters; 6-7, 95 meters; 8-9, 60 meters; 10-11, 55 meters; 12-13, 20 meters; 7-14, 70 meters; 17-14, 32 meters; 15-16, 17 meters. b, profile of site (from west) showing three levels (1, 2, 3) and location of stone defense walls.

NAKOROVUSA

On the ridge about 28 meters above Naisevou is Nakorovusa, surrounded by a wall of undressed limestone. On the west this wall follows the edge of the cliffs, in places reinforcing and supplementing them to a height of about 10 meters. The wall on the south side is about 2 meters high and 65 cm. wide at the top. Much of the ground inside the wall is rocky and broken, but the level land has been made into a manioc garden. Most of the house sites have been destroyed but one site, an oval earth mound about 38 cm. high, faced with large stones, is well preserved. It is 8 meters long and 6 meters wide. The long axis of the platform is perpendicular to the shore line. Potsherds were found on the ground inside and outside of the house sites. Some sherds had incised designs on the outer wall surface or on the flat edge of

172
712

the slightly outward bent rim. A piece of brain coral, apparently used as a grater, was also found.

NDELAIOLOI

Another fortress site, Ndelaioloi, is situated southeast of Tokalau village at the summit of Ndelaioloi, the highest hill on Kambara (143.3 meters) and the only one of volcanic formation. The site commands a view of the island of Kambara as well as 17 other islands. It is entirely surrounded by a well-preserved wall of basalt. About two-thirds of the site is used for a garden of yams and manioc; the remainder is overgrown by bush. A few of the house sites which have not been destroyed are roughly rectangular in shape.

NAKAKA

North of Lomatchi village on the southern spur of Ndeiaioloi is Nakaka. The site is surrounded by a well-preserved wall and is overgrown with bush and fruit trees, especially coconut, *vala*, and Tahitian chestnut. On the steep hillside each house foundation forms a terrace, the south side built up with stone to 65 cm. to 1 meter high and the remainder of the mound filled in with stones to level the floor. Most of the house sites are elliptical in ground plan but one is square, 5 by 5 meters, with slightly rounded corners. A coconut tree estimated by its rings to be at least 75 years old, is growing in a stone-marked house mound of the Nakaka site.

NAKORO

Located on the edge of the ridge 60 to 75 meters above Nggalinggali is Nakoro, a natural fort. It follows the line of the ridge which forms a cliff wall. A break in this wall to the north of the fortress affords the only approach from the sea. About 4 meters below this break, a limestone wall has been constructed to guard the approach. The site of Nakoro, built up in terraces on the steep inner slope of the ridge, is now used as a garden; but many house foundations are well preserved. Informants say burials were found in some house mounds when they were disturbed for gardening. The skeletons were reburied. A group of five or six house mounds at the south end of the Nakoro series, called Matanaiundu, are said to have been used by the Undu group who were allies of the Nggalinggali people. Matanaiundu is separated from Nakoro by a high point and can be approached either from Nakoro along a razor-backed ledge, which forms the eastern edge of the point, or up a steep path leading from the interior. West of Nakoro and Matanaiundu the cliff drops abruptly from 10 to 25 meters. Here a flat, ovate section of the interior basin which forms the island has been isolated by cliffs. The fortified approach to Nakoro leads also to this plateau which has only one other entrance, located at the northwest end and protected by a limestone wall. A path leading into the interior joins the two entrances. It is forked by another path leading to the Sautambu, an isolated burial mound (p. 222) located at the northeast end of the plateau. Between the rocks on both sides of this second path are pits, 2 to 4 meters deep, from which the soil for the house mounds at Nakoro was taken, according to the natives.

THAUKENALOA

A strong fortress site, Thaukenaloa is situated 75 to 80 meters high on the ridge southwest of Undu. The site is said to have been named after four conspicuous ironwood (*thau*) trees crowning the point which commands a view of the surrounding ocean. Thaukenaloa occupies a steep, narrow slope between the edge of the cliffs and an inland ravine 8 meters deep. The site forms a natural fort, and protecting limestone walls have been built up only at the entrance. The site, which varies in width from 10 to 25 meters and extends about 120 meters along the ridge, is very rocky and somewhat overgrown so that it was difficult to determine to what extent house foundations had been built up. The house sites were formerly supported on the west side by a retaining limestone wall 1.5 meters high. Two foundations, situated on high points, apparently served as look-outs. Thin potsherds and one small Tridacna shell were found at Thaukenaloa.

NDENGEI

The strongest fortress site on Wangava was Ndengei, built according to tradition, by Nggileso (table 2). Ndengei is located on the cliffs above Saurai near Wangava's highest point (100 meters). The only approach to the site is by a path leading from the north end of the beach on the northwest side of the island up the narrow, steep ravine to the top of the cliff and down again into a narrow valley surrounded by high inaccessible cliffs. The path up the cliff is protected by a series of three limestone walls. Each wall runs across the narrow ravine, a distance of from 4 to 7 meters. Ruins of the first wall (4 meters long) are located 5 meters above the sandy flat and about 35 meters from it. Its former height cannot now be determined. The second wall, 7 meters long, 3 meters high, 2.5 meters wide at the base, and about 30 cm. wide at the top, is located about 70 meters from the first and 10 meters above it. The third wall is 70 meters from the second and 6 meters above it. It is 6 meters long, 2 meters high, 1.5 meters wide at the base and practically pointed at the top. The natives say that formerly a hamlet was located at the top of the cliff in a level space about 8 meters wide, now covered with thick bush. No house foundations were seen here. The cliff rises rapidly northward to the highest point on the island where a round flat stone marks

172 a look-out point, according to informants. Here the entire island and surrounding ocean can be seen. From the edge of the cliff, the path descends
712 gradually through another rocky ravine. About 150 meters from the edge of the cliff grow wild yams, and 50 meters farther, at the blind end of the ravine are two coconut trees over 100 years old. No definite house foundations were found although many possible sites were examined. Gorges to a depth of 15 meters were common, many affording protection against the rain. It is possible that these were used as shelters.

KOROMBALAVU

The only fortified cave visited was Korombalavu (Long-fortress), also called Koronggara (Cave-fortress), located in the limestone cliffs at the north end of Wangava. The natives say the cave extends to the north coast of the island and opens high in the cliffs above the sea at Naivakevu. The inland approach to the cave through a deep, rocky ravine is protected by a series of eight limestone walls. Only the entrance to the cave, which is fortified with limestone walls, was examined. It was filled with flying foxes and dung.

HAMLETS

172 Hamlet (*tokatoka*) sites are located in or near the garden lands on all the inhabited islands. Their names and locations have been discussed (pp. 22-27).

NAWAROWARO

Nawarowaro, located in the garden lands of northeast Wangava, is an example of a hamlet site. On this site, which is now used as a garden, many potsherds and shells were seen. The house sites have no mounds but consist of elliptical rings of stones, usually about 8 by 7 meters. Informants say that Nawarowaro was once occupied by the land people of Wangava.

VAKAWANGGA

Vakawangga, a hamlet site which resembles a fortress, is located about 40 meters above Undu in a pocket in the cliffs, midway between the sandy flat and the top of the ridge. The hamlet, situated on a level space about 100 meters long by 30 meters wide, is surrounded by cliffs that rise on the east side about 10 meters and then drop to sea level. The cliffs on the west side rise abruptly 40 meters to the ridge. A path leads from the site southward and joins the path from Undu to Thaukenaloa and the interior. The entrance to the hamlet has been walled with limestone, probably in recent times to pen pigs. No other stone walls were seen. Since the site was overgrown with bush and fruit trees, including coconut trees, it was impossible to examine the house foundations without clearing, but one 5-meter by 6-meter house mound was noted. The level platform was built up of limestone with a retaining wall 60 cm. to 1 meter high. Two corners of the walls were practically right angled. House sites seen here were larger and higher than those at Thaukenaloa. 172

NAMBAKUA

Several coast sites, occupied by groups of clans in post-Christian times after the evacuation of the hamlet sites, have been noted (pp. 22-28).

On Wangava, about 30 meters above the northeast coast near Savena Point is Nambakua, an example of this type of site. It is said to be the first Christian village on Wangava. Although the site is used as a garden, several house mounds remain intact. A stone-faced mound with elliptical ground plan, called Vale Levu, is 12 meters long, 6 meters wide, and 30 cm. high. Two other mounds are 4 meters long, 3 meters wide, and 60 cm. high. A stone-faced mound with circular ground plan is 8 meters in diameter and 45 cm. high. Potsherds were taken from the house sites. A limestone wall 2.3 meters high, which the natives say belonged to Nambakua, is located 40 meters from the coast. It joins and builds up the natural wall of limestone. A second stone wall—2 meters high from the lower (Nambakua) side, 30 cm. wide at the top, and 2 meters wide at the base, also said to belong to Nambakua—reinforces the natural gateway of limestone rock. The path ascends through a break in this wall up the cliff. Both walls appeared to defend a fortress (probably pre-Christian) higher up on the cliff rather than Nambakua, but this could not be located. A few meters above the second wall on the point where the path begins to descend, stands a single upright stone, 1.3 meters high, 25 cm. wide at the top, said to be the seat of the guard (*niandra*). The path toward the interior leads through openings in two more walls, about 50 meters apart, of natural limestone reinforced by built-up stones. Lower and less carefully built than defense walls, these are said to form pigpens.

BURIALS

BURIAL CAVES

172
764

Skeletal remains as well as spears, clubs and parts of canoes are found in many caves in Lau. For example, a famous cave called Noaruarua is located in the interior of west Wangava. It is reputed to be the burial place of Singambongi, who was treacherously murdered by Naialewakalou of Lakemba. Noaruarua consists of a ledge in the limestone wall about 1.3 meters above the ground. The bones of at least three skeletons were seen here. Eight conch shells, partly decomposed and covered with patina, were scattered about the ledge.

7

Isolated Burials

172 764 Unique in southern Lau is the Sautambu or chiefs' burial mound near Nggalinggali (p. 219). It is an isolated, truncated cone-shaped burial mound faced with unworked limestones. Built on a steep slope, it measures about 12 meters high from the lower side of the base and 5 meters high from the upper side. A large greenheart tree, about 3.3 meters in diameter, is growing on the flat, circular top of the mound. Here were found four conch shells, a bundle of dry kava, and a withered wreath. The Sautambu is tabu and is carefully avoided by the natives. Some say it is the burial place of Wetasau, Kelei, Mbuatoka, and Tawaketchini (table 2). According to tradition, it was built by a thousand men from Thakaundrove, each of whom contributed a stone and a handful of earth.

Cemeteries

Some informants say that each hamlet had a cemetery (called *mara* or *mbulumbulu*) in pre-Christian times (p. 102). The natives can locate a number of these, as for instance Tuvatuva, said to be situated on a point jutting into the Wangava lake not far from Vanuwai. Rasolo says that burials at Tuvatuva are marked by stone-faced mounds. No hamlet cemeteries were examined.

Isolated House Mounds

172 Isolated house mounds (*yavu*) are rare in southern Lau. West of Nggalinggali on the sandy flat, however, is located Naiviloa, an isolated, circular mound of earth 1 meter high and 8 meters in diameter. It is faced with large slabs of undressed limestone. The flat surface of the mound is covered with beach sand. The natives say that Naiviloa was the house mound of Mbuatoka (table 2). The mound contains two rectangular stone-faced burial mounds. One burial mound is 3.5 meters long, 2 meters wide, and 30 cm. high above the foundation. It is faced with a wall consisting of rectangular blocks of limestone dressed with right-angled corners. The mound surface is flush with the top of the wall and is covered with fresh beach sand. Eight conch shells, symbols of chieftainship, have been placed along the inner side of the east wall. The other burial mound has a ground plan similar to the first but it is faced with a single row of thin slabs of dressed limestone (about 60 cm. long, 30 cm. high, and 8 cm. deep), placed upright, their long axes parallel to the ground. This is reputed to be the grave of Sinula, a grandchild of Mbuatoka.

OTHER SITES

Sacred Places

Sites of sacred places (*na sava*), such as god houses (*mbure kalou*), sacred caves (*nggara kalou*) and sacred stones are found in Lau. Those visited have been described (pp. 108-109, 112-113).

Gaming Grounds

A long shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*), called Wainikeli, which the 172
natives say was formerly used for the dart game (*tchingga*), was examined in east central Wangava. The site has been described on pages 78-79.

Canoe Builders' Pit

On the beach at Naimarai, reputed to be the site of a village located on 172
the northeast coast of Kambara and formerly occupied by Tongan canoe 396
builders, is a pit which informants say was used in building double canoes. The rough hull was drawn across the mouth of the pit so that the canoe builders could stand conveniently in the pit while building up and finishing the hull. This was probably used especially for the *tambetembete* type of Tongan double canoe with keel.

Fishponds

On Mothe fishponds bordered by walls of basaltic stones were seen. These 172
have been described on pages 135-136.

Cannibal Earth Oven

The site of an earth oven which informants said was formerly used for [354]
steaming human bodies (*lovo ni mbakola*), was seen near Undu village. It [266]
consisted of a somewhat circular pit in the ground, larger than the usual pit used to steam food for a feast.

Shell Mounds

An extensive, low shell mound, formed of the shells of edible mollusks, was seen on the shore at Yawalevu, Fulanga. The edge of the mound was used for a sweet potato garden. By pushing aside the shells which covered the surface of the ground and scraping the earth below into a mound, a small circular clearing had been made for each sweet potato plant.

Potters' Clay Site

The natives of Kambara say that potters' clay was formerly obtained [323]
from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi near Lomatchi. It was made into pots by the women of Levuka, Lakemba, when they visited the island on regular trading expeditions. The women of southern Lau were not potters but [438]
obtained their pots from the Levuka women, from Matuku, Kandavu, and Tailevu (24, pp. 111-112).

Stone Quarries

It is probable that sites of quarries, which formerly supplied basalt for [324]
the manufacture of stone implements used in southern Lau, occur on the [316]
volcanic islands but none was located.

LITERATURE CITED

113

1. Brewster, A. B., The hill tribes of Fiji, Philadelphia, 1922.
2. Buck, P. H. (Te Rangi Hiroa), Samoan material culture: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 75, 1930.
3. Burrows, E. G., Western Polynesia, a study in cultural differentiation: Etnologiska Studier, vol. 7, 1938.
4. Council Paper no. 2: Report of the census . . . April 24, 1921, Suva, 1922.
5. Council Paper no. 42: Report on the Fiji census . . . by Commander W. Burrows . . . October 23, 1936, Suva, 1936.
6. Davidson, D. S., The Pacific and circum-Pacific appearances of the dart-game: Polynesian Soc., Jour., vol. 45, pp. 99-114, 1936.
7. Fison, Lorimer, The Nanga or sacred stone enclosure of Wainimala, Fiji: Roy. Anthrop. Inst. Great Britain and Ireland, Jour., vol. 14, pp. 14-30, 1884.
8. Fison, Lorimer, Tales from old Fiji, London, 1904.
9. Gifford, E. W., Tongan society: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 61, 1929.
10. Hazelwood, David, A Feejeean and English dictionary, Fiji, 1850.
11. Henderson, G. C., The discoverers of the Fiji Islands, London, 1933.
12. Hennings, G. M., The murder of the first Tui Naiau: Fijian Soc., Trans. (1917), Suva, 1918.
13. Hocart, A. M., Early Fijians: Roy. Anthrop. Inst. Great Britain and Ireland, Jour., vol. 49, pp. 42-51, 1919.
14. Hocart, A. M., Ethnographical sketch of Fiji: Man, vol. 15, no. 43, 1915.
15. Hocart, A. M., Lau islands, Fiji: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 62, 1929.
16. Hornell, James, Canoes of Polynesia, Micronesia, and Fiji: B. P. Bishop Mus., Special Pub. 27, 1936.
17. Hornell, James, String figures from Fiji and western Polynesia: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 39, 1927.
18. McKern, W. C., Tongan material culture, manuscript in Bishop Museum.
19. Mariner, William, An account of the natives of the Tonga islands, vol. 1, London, 1818 (2d ed.).
20. Roth, Kingsley, Some unrecorded details on tatuing in Fiji: Man, vol. 33, no. 167, 1933.
21. Thompson, Laura, Adzes from the Lau islands, Fiji: Polynesian Soc., Jour., vol. 47, pp. 97-104, 1938.
22. Thompson, Laura, The culture history of the Lau islands, Fiji: American Anthropologist, vol. 10, pp. 181-198, 1938.
23. Thompson, Laura, Fijian frontier, New York, 1940.
24. Thompson, Laura, The pottery of the Lau islands, Fiji: Polynesian Soc., Jour., vol. 47, pp. 109-113, 1938.
25. Tueting, Laura, Native trade in southeast New Guinea: B. P. Bishop Mus., Occ. Papers, vol. 11, no. 15, pp. 1-43, 1935.
26. Wilkes, Charles, Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition, 1838-42, vol. 3, Philadelphia, 1845.
27. Williams, Thomas, and Calvert, James, Fiji and the Fijians, vol. 2, London, 1852.

INDEX

ODO

abandonment of aged 102
Acalypha insularis 174
adoption 55
adultery 58
albiño strain 8
Alyxia bracteolosa 9
ancestor cult 109 f; alliance with war complex 103
archaeology 216 ff
arrowroot 128
assembly, village 40; house of 23
avoidance 58 ff; brother-sister 59; *veitungoni* 62; *vasu* 63
bald-headedness 8
bananas 148 f; for ceremony 74
barkcloth (see tapa)
Barringtonia 206
barter 209 ff
beards 9
beds (couches) 170 f
begging (*kerekere*) system 207 f
behavior between relatives 58 ff; in social life 64
boars'-tusk ornaments 9
bows, weapons 192; used in sport 80
breadfruit 148
breast plate 49
breeding of domestic animals 139 ff; turtles 141 f
British rule 5; officials 6; admiralty charts 6; Crown Colony 30, system of indirect rule 30 f; flag 98
brooms 171
Broussonetia papyrifera 25
burial, caves 101, 221; canoe 102; house 218; mounds 222
cabbage 146
calendar 126 f
Canangium odoratum 150
cannibalism 29, 104
canoes 175 ff; construction 178 f; shell ornamentation 184; repair 184; launching 184
canoe types 185; sailing 176: outrigger 180 f; deck 182; mast, rigging, and sail 182 ff. Double 185: *sauthoko* 185; *tambetembete* 186
Carica papaya 149
carpenter 52; payment of 159; function in house building 161
castration 140
Casuarina nodiflora 192
cave shelters 160; burial in 101, 221; sacred 108 f; fortified 220
cemeteries (*mara*) 222
ceremonial presentation, *vasu* 63, *sevusevu* 65 ff, *solevu* 73 f, 92 f
ceremonial gong beat 192
ceremonial exchange 49, 73 f, 92 ff; whales' teeth 125; analysis of *solevu* pattern 208; accompanied by barter 209
ceremonies, chiefly 49; adoption 55; *vuka lutulutu* 63; *vasu* 63; first fruits 65 ff; kava 68 ff; feast 72; at *solevu* 73; at dart game 79; chief's installation 81; chief's reception 81 ff; first pregnancy 83; birth 84 ff; for first-born 86; puberty 86 ff; betrothal 90 f; marriage 91 ff; death 96 ff; purification 113 f; house completion 168
chants (*meke*) 74 f
chastity 58
chief, fish for 67; parts of canoe reserved for 186
chief of ceremonial ground 53
chiefdoms, grades of dependency 37; hereditary chief 40, rank of 39 f; tribute 40
child betrothal 90 f
Chinese stores 13, 21, 25
Christianity, introduction 30; Kambara converted 39
Cinnamomum 204
circumcision 87 f, 117
clans 35; clan hamlets 12, 31, 35; incarnations 35, 109 f, 126; hereditary titles 35 f, 40; exogamy 53; descent 54 f; affiliation of widows, orphans, bastards 55 f; subclans 36
classes, upper 33, 47; lower 32, 47
clothing 9
clubs 192; ceremonial 113
coconuts 146 f
coconut crab 128
coconut oil 203 f
communal work, fishing 129 ff; house building 159
conception beliefs 83
conch shells, use of 96, 98, 109, 137, 221
containers 207
cooking 151 f
copra harvest 147; export 30, 211
cord 205 f
Cordia subcordata 152
Cosmopolites sordidus 149
couches 170 f
cowry shell ornamentation 49, 168, 184
crafts 159 ff
cremation, no evidence of 102
Crinum asiaticum 153
cross-cousin marriage 53 f, 58, 63
Croton metallicus 204
cultivation 142 ff;
cults 116 ff; land 105 ff; water 117 ff
cups 192, 207
Cynometra grandiflora 8
dances 74 ff, war 76 f; sitting 77; fan 77 f; modern 78
death of a high chief 96 f; an island chief 98 f; a young man 100 f; an infant 101 f; an old woman 101; disposal of body 101 f
descent 54 f

designs, lashing 161, 164; bowls 188; canoes 180; clubs 192; tapa 197; tattoo 90; mats 202; on potsherds 217
development of the individual not included in monograph, 5
Dioscorea aculeata 145
domestic animals 138 ff
dream signs 133
dress 7
drought 12; rites during 105, 109
drums, dance 75 ff; bamboo 75, 77; beats 99: war 103
dual organization 213
dwellings (see houses) 159 ff
dye, for hair 8; for sennit 174 f; for tapa 196 f
Dysoxylum richii 178
ears, pierced and weighted 9
earth oven 72, 153 ff; preparation of 153
economic exchange 207; Tonga with Fiji 29; types of exchange 207 f
Elaeocharis articulata 150, 182
elopement 91
endogamy 54
Entada phaseoloides 131
epidemic, measles 22
Erythrospermum polyandrum 110
etiquette 58 ff, 64 ff; in houses 64; at meals 60, 152; chiefly 64; in kava circle 69; distribution of food 72 f
Eugenia richii, *E. neurocalyx* 204
evil spirits, on Wangava 24, 120; protection from 97, 169; in garden 142
Evodia hortensis 204
exchange, ceremonial 49, 73 f; reciprocal 159
Excoccaria agallocha 174
excrement basket 85
exogamy 53
exotic traits 3
eyeshades 9
family, *vuvale* 37
famine 128; island (Fulanga) 26; food 128
feasts 72 f; division of 51; at fish offering 68; kava 71; preparation, presentation, distribution of 72 f; at *solevu* 74; at chief's installation 81; installation 81; birth 84 ff; first birthday of first-born 86; *mangitchi ni kana mbaletchi* 86; circumcision 88; tattoo 90; engagement 91; marriage 93 f; death 98 ff; war 104; after a hunt 138; planting of first yam 146; sweet puddings 156 f; house building 162 f, 168; canoe building 178, 185; tapa making 200
feather hair ornaments 49
felting barkcloth 196 f
fermentation 129, 158; hole 23
Ficus 9
fire 152
first-born 84 ff, 109; descendants of 53; ceremonies 83; mana 109
first fruits rites 65 ff
fishhooks 134
fish poisoning 134 f; traps 135
fishing 129 ff; rites 27
Flagellaria gigantea 166, 179
food 127 ff; for the dead 102; gathering 127 ff; plants 128 ff; groups 151 f; preparation of 151 f; serving of 152; fermented 157; *wangiri* 158
fortresses 22 ff, 27, 35, 216 ff
furniture 169 ff
games, dart 78 f; jack straws 80; races and contests 80; string figures 81; *lafo* 81
genealogies 5, 33 ff; of clans 5; land phratry 32; chiefs' phratry (table 2) 33; chiefs' carpenters 33; Lemaki carpente[illegible] 34; sea people 34
geography 10 f
ghosts 107 f
gifts 65, 97, 105; presentation of 65; ceremonial 92 ff; in barter 210
god houses 107, 111 ff
gods 107 ff
gongs 191 f; war 103; beats 192
gourd containers 204, 207
grater, coral 153, 218
greeting, chiefly 64
Grewia crenata 153
guardian gods 105, 117, 118
guardianship of minors 122
Guettarda speciosa 103, 204
guilds 19; tapa 194
hair 8 f; ornaments 49
hamlet gods 107 f
hardwoods 12 f, 24 f, 26, 28, 212 f
hatred between father and son 61
headrests 171, 190
herald 50
Hernandia ovigera 8
high chief 48; retainers of 49; sacredness of 49; mana 49; ceremonies for 49, 81 ff; 88, 96 ff; *vasu* of 63, 81
Homalanthus nutans 179
hook and line fishing 134
house building 159 ff; materials 161; labor 162 f; foundations 165 f; roof thatch 166 f; wall thatch 168; final ceremony 168 f; furnishings 169 f; floor space 170
household census 14 ff
households 31, 37
houses, assembly 23; dwelling 159 ff; Tongan type 160; *vale lolova kathukathu* type 171; high rectangular 172; low rectangular 172
human sacrifice 29, 30, 49, 104, 107, 112
hurricanes 12, 22, 26, 28
illegitimate children 55 f
illness 120
immigrants, from Viti Levu 33; led by Ndaunisai 32, 214; culture 215

inbreeding 54
incarnations 105 f, 109 ff, 126
incest 60
infanticide 30
inheritance 121 f, 125
Inocarpus edulis 66, 128
insecurity, social 208
interisland trade 210 f; exports and imports 210 f; transportation 212
Intsia bijuga 13
Ipomoea batatas 144; *I. gracilis* 155
jealousy, father-son 61
jesters 78
joking 58; tabu 60, 62, 64
kava, ceremony 68 f; root in exchange 68; songs (*meke*) 71; ceremonial use 97, 109, 168
kerekere 207 f
kumete 187
labor 120, 125; organization and division of 126, 151; payment for 159; tapa makers' guild 194
Lagenaria vulgaris 204
lamps 169
land 119 f; given to Tongans 29; land commission survey 121; division 121 ff; boundaries 121; rent of 122; acquisition and transfer of 123; clearing of 142
land people 32 f, 103, 213
language 6; polite speech 64; idiom (*luve ni wai*) 76
Le[illegible]ana iridescens 147
Levukans 35, 223
lime, preparation of 8
linguistic stock 6
low Fijians 213
Maafu 30
magic 169
maize 146
Malaisia scandens 128
mana 5, 49 f, 109, 112, 113, 140 f, 152, 171
manioc 142 ff
marriage 53 ff; ceremonial 91 f; exchange of property 95
master fisherman 51 f, 131, 137; role in first fish offering 67 f
matai carpenter 52
mats 170, 200 f
mbilita trees 124
Mburotu 115 f
medicine 5, 118, 147, 150
meke (chants) 74 f; texts 71, 76, 77, 78, 118 f
membranaphone absent 192
memorial 102 f
middlemen, Mothe 211
Miscanthus japonicus 80, 168
missionaries 6, 28, 29, 30, 55, 105
missions 31
monogamy 53
monopoly, economic 212
Morinda citrifolia 92
mosquito, protection from 27, 28, 169, 200
mourning 95 ff; of widows 96; for chief 96 ff
navigation 175 f
Ndaunisai 32, 38; genealogy (table 2)
Nereis 136
net fishing 129 ff
nets 206 ff
nobles 33, 38 ff
nose flutes 192
Ochrocarpus excelsus 8
offerings 105, 108, 110, 112
offspring of the water (cult) 117
Olethrius 128
omens 106, 112
onions 146
ornamentation, neck, arm bands, wreaths 9
ornaments, head 8; dance 9; chiefly 49
orphans 55
ownership 121 ff, 200
pandanus 149 f
panpipes, formerly made on Kambara 192
papaya 149
paper mulberry 25, 150
Parinarium glaberrimum 150
payment for services 178, 209
perfume, for coconut oil 204; to facilitate spiritual contacts 113; plants used for 150, 204
Phaleria disperma 174
phallic symbols 183
phratries 32 ff, 47 f
physical type 7
pigs 138 f; hunting 138; roasting of 154
Pittosporum brackenridgei 9, 13
plaiting techniques, baskets 193, 203; ornamentation 202; mats 200 ff
polite speech 64
polygyny 53
Pometia pinnata 66
population, Kambara 3; Tokalau 3, 13 f; in coast villages 12, 30; Lomatchi 22; Nggalin[illegible]ali 23; Undu 23; Namuka 25; Mothe 25; Fulanga 27; Ongea 28; Tongan colonies in Fiji 29
pork 138; preparation of 154
potlatch exchange 208
pots 155 f
potsherds 217, 219, 221
potters 35, 223
pregnancy 83; tabus 84, 132
preservation of food 1[illegible] f
prestige 5, 48, 64, 83, 207 ff, 120, 162, 213 f
priests 52, 65, 111 ff
primogeniture 53
production 119 f
property, moveable 124 f; land 121 ff; incorporeal 125; clan property 159; house sites 160; headrest 171; boar's tusks 187
Ptychomyia remota 147
Pueraria thunbergiana 128, 158
purification 113 f
rafts 175
reservoirs 22, 25, 26, 28
residence 54 f
Rhizophora mucronata 68
rivalry, between noble clans 37; expressed in ceremonial exchange 73 f, 207; in games 79, 80; in warfare 103; regarding land ownership 121; in payment of tribute 208; between traders 212
rotation of crops 142
sacred cave 108

000 sailing routes, to Tonga 186 f; to Ono 177; in southern Lau 212
salt 155
Samoan basket types 193, 203
Samoan carpentry, canoe, house, and bowl types 34
sandals 9
sandalwood 150
sea burial, no evidence of 102
seasons 126 f
sexual desires 60
shell fish 136
shutters 169
slings, weapons 192; carriers 202
Smilax vitiensis 178
social organization 5, 31 ff
solevu 73 f
soliciting system 207 ff
souls 114 ff; abode of 114 f
spears 78, 80, 133 f, 192
specialists, master fisherman 35, 51 f; herald 50; *vaka vanua* 51; carpenter 52; envoy 52; circumciser 87; tattooer 89; Luve ni Wai 118; *meke* master, *meke* maker 76, 119; priests 112; in sennit lashing 161; at making clubs 192; spears 192; gongs 192; tapa 193 f
spirits 107 f; worship of 108
staves, royal 49
stencil designs 196 ff; dye 196
stillbirths 85
stone, enclosures absent 117; uprights as memorials 102; pig pens 139 f, 220 f; defense walls 216 ff; faced house mounds 165 f
streamers, barkcloth 49
subclans 36
succession of title, clan headman 35 f; high chief 48
sugar cane 146 f
sweet potatoes 144 f
tabus, to protect high chief 49; on first fruits 50; brothers, sisters, parallel cousins 59 ff; crops 66 ff; in kava ceremony 69 f; pregnancy 33 f; on sexual intercourse after childbirth 85; chief's burial 98; before a raid 103; on totems 106 f; on incarnations 110 f; lifting of 113; on fruit trees 123 f; on headrest 171; canoes 184, 186; bones of ancestors 216; Sautambu 222
Tacca pinnatifida 128
tapa making 193 ff; stencil designs 196 ff; dye 196; felting 196; pasting 198; rubbing designs 198
Tapaso, god of Nanggara 107
tattooing, of women 30, 89 f
tauvu relationship 209
taxes, village 40
temple of Lekutu Levu 110
thatch, roof 166 f; wall 168
theft 103, 120
tobacco 72; introduction of 150
Tonga, route to 186 f
Tongan customs 73; contacts 5; influence 7, 23, 29 f, 64; navigators 29; control in Fiji 30; kinship system 58; behavior between *veitathini* 60; kava ceremonial 69; kava feast 71; kava party 72; dance 78; composite dart 80; virgin locks 88; concepts 116; system of land ownership 121 f; payment of rent 122; oil lamps 170; coconut 146; gardening 146; carpenters 175; plank canoe 175; use of Lauan canoe 176; rule 189; headrest 191; barkcloth method 198 f; canoe builders' village site 223
torches 170; of coconut spathes 170
torch fishing 134
totems 32, 106, 111
trade 209 f
trade center, Mothe 211; Namuka 211
trade routes 212; goods 210 ff
traders 35, 211 f
transportation, of fire 152; interisland 176
traps, fish 135; fowl 138
tribute 40, 48 f, 176, 193, 196, 207 ff
Tueting, Bernhard, notes on religion 5; chapter on subsistence 127 ff
turbans, of barkcloth 195; symbols of rank 49
turtle breeding 24; eggs 128; fishing 137; net 137; fence 142
turtles as food 72 f, 137, 141 f, 154
Tutumatua, god of Matasoata 107, 169
twins 85
urn burial, no evidence of 102
vaka vanua 51
vasu relationship 47, 62 ff, 209
Vavaea vitiensis 169
village assembly 40
village chief 52 f
virgin locks 88, 94
virginity, test 94; payment for 95
wages 209
wailing 96
warfare 37, 103
water supply 22, 25, 26, 28
wealth 124, 171; distribution of 117; accumulation of 208
weapons 104
weddings 91 ff
western influence 5, 23, 29 f
whales' teeth 58, 63, 65, 74, 82, 124 f
widows 55; marriage of 95; strangling 30, 99; mourning 96
wife-beating 58
wigs, hibiscus bark 78
yams 145 f

766

[287
241
516]

[534
333]

A, DEATH RITES FOR HIGH CHIEF OF LAKEMBA. A LONG STRIP OF TAPA (TONGAN *NGATU*) STRETCHING FROM THE CHIEF'S HOUSE TO THE BURIAL MOUND FORMS A CARPET FOR THE FUNERAL PROCESSION. WOMEN IN MOURNING SIT WITH BOWED HEADS ON EITHER SIDE. B, GRAVE OF THE CHIEF OF KAMBARA IN THE CEMETERY AT TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA. THE EARTH MOUND OF RECTANGULAR GROUND PLAN IS SHAPED LIKE A TRUNCATED PYRAMID WITH TWO STONE-FACED STEPS. TEN CONCH SHELLS BLOWN AT THE FUNERAL LIE ON THE FIRST STEP.

[End Plate 1]

291

[252
415]

A

[516]

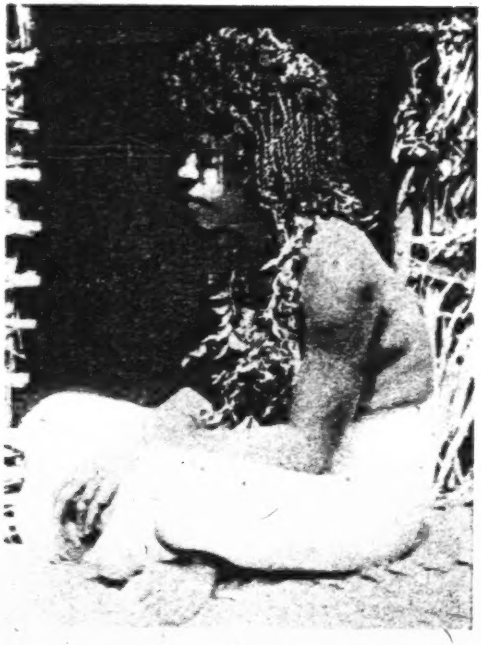
B

[287
516]

C

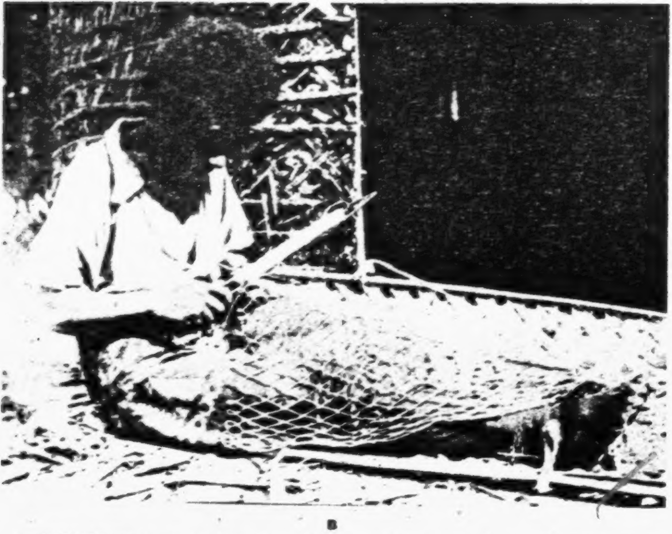
A, EARTH OVEN BEING PREPARED BY TWO YOUTHS FOR A WEDDING FEAST AT NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, FULANGA. IN FOREGROUND ARE BASKETS OF BREADFRUIT, AT RIGHT A WOODEN BOWL (*PAPASIA*) FILLED WITH GRATED MANIOC. B, FULANGA YOUTHS PREPARING FERMENTED MANIOC FOR EARTH OVEN. C, WOMEN OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA, OUTLINING DESIGN ON LARGE PIECE OF TAPA (TONGAN *NGATU*).

[End Plate 2]



A

29
30
142
516

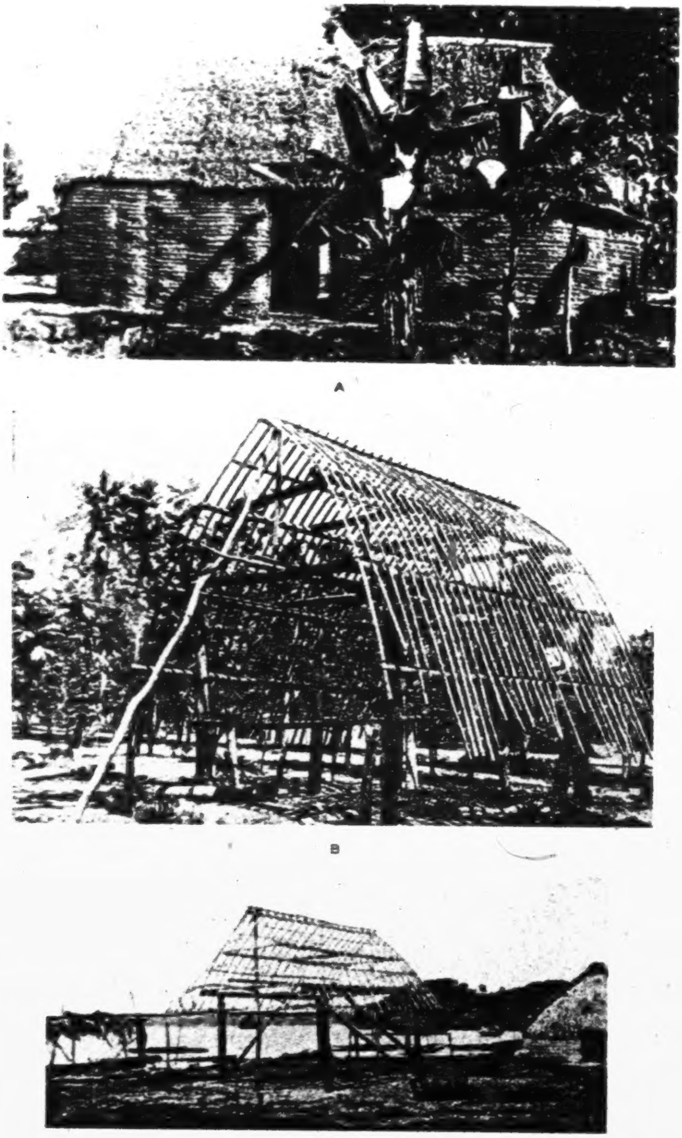


286
516

B

A, UNMARRIED GIRL OF MUANAITHAKE VILLAGE, FULANGA, WEARING "VIRGIN LOCKS" OVER LEFT EAR. B, WOMAN OF NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, FULANGA, MAKING A FISHNET.

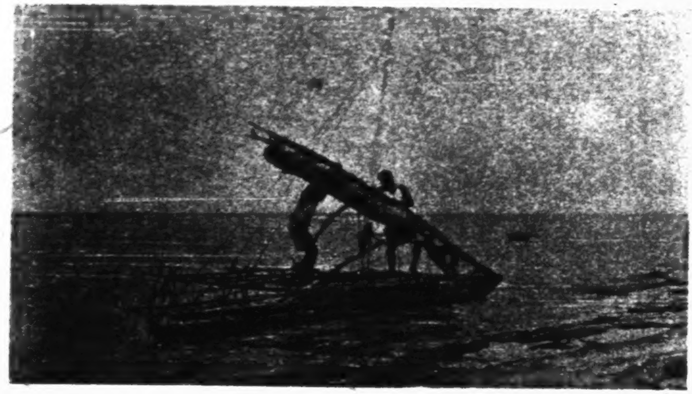
[End Plate 3]



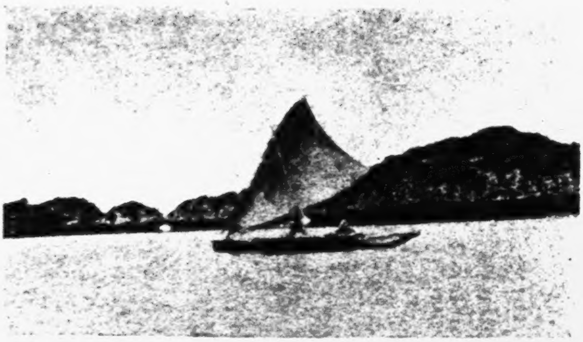
A, SMALL DWELLING HOUSE OF TONGAN TYPE, MUANAITHAKE VILLAGE, FULANGA. **B**, MIDDLE SECTION OF LARGE DWELLING HOUSE TONGAN TYPE UNDER CONSTRUCTION, MUANAITHAKE VILLAGE, FULANGA. **C**, HOUSE OF THE *VALE LOLOVA KATHUKATHU* TYPE UNDER CONSTRUCTION AT NAIVINDAMU, FULANGA (PHOTOGRAPH BY E. H. BRYAN, JR.).

[End Plate 4]

501
285



A



B

A, TWO BOYS FURLING THE MAT SAIL OF AN OUTRIGGER SAILING CANOE. B, SMALL CANOE UNDER SAIL IN ONGEA LAGOON (PHOTOGRAPH BY E. H. BRYAN, JR.).

[End Plate 5]